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ABSTRACT

This document contains chapter 9 of the final report of the Project on Social Architecture in Education. Chapter 9 is about a regional experimental high school program for the arts. Several features distinguished Arts Co-op from the other schools in the study. For one, it was a special purpose school, focused on the arts, and not offering a regular academic program at all; students took their academic subjects in the mornings and came to Arts Co-op in the afternoon. Second, it was the result of a regional planning effort, involving a number of adjacent school districts who agreed that this was a financially and educationally effective way to present special needed services. Third, the school was to be financed by tuition payments allocated by the participating school districts, voted upon yearly by each town's board of education. Arts Co-op, more than any other school in the study, stayed true to the intent and vision of the planners; they got what they had said they wanted. There were many reasons for this, and the case study attempts to illuminate these. (Author/MLF)

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PROJECT ON

ARCHITECTURE IN EDUCATION

Final Report

Part III: Case Studies

Chapter 9

ARTS CO-OP

An Experimental High School Program

Ellen Wahl Sullivan

EA 011 521

Center for Policy Research
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Final Report

Part III: Case Studies

Chapter 9

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From the Final Report to National Institute of Education, Grant NIE-G-74-0051. Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: a Field Study of Social Architecture in Education. Matthew B. Miles, Principal Investigator.

December, 1978

Introductory Note

This volume is a portion of the Final Report, Grant NIE-G-74-0051, "Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: a Field Study of Social Architecture in Education," Matthew B. Miles, Principal Investigator.

The Final Report contains the following parts:

Part I: Introduction

1. Executive Summary
2. New Schools as a Strategy for Educational Improvement
3. Planning and Implementing New Schools: a General Framework

Part II: Research Methods

4. Project Overview
5. Research Methods
   Appendices

Part III: Case Studies

6. Westgate Schools: a case study of two open-space elementary schools
7. Change and Conflict: educational innovation in community context
8. Innovation in Lakeport
   College High School: a planning case study
   The Founding of Julius Appelbaum High School
9. Arts Co-op: an experimental high school program

Part IV: Conclusions

10. Reflections on the Case Studies
11. Implications and Advice

Part V: Mapping New Schools: a series of new-school planning guides

1. Setting the stage for planning
2. Designing your school
3. Mapping your school's environment
4. Making your school work

The Project on Social Architecture in Education has been supported by funds from the National Institute of Education, and from Teacher Corps. The contents of this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Institute of Education, or the Teacher Corps.

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The Project on Social Architecture in Education has engaged the active energies of many people over the past four years. The core research staff responsible for this Final Report were Matthew B. Miles, Ellen W. Sullivan, Barry A. Gold, Beverly Loy Taylor, Sam D. Sieber and David E. Wilder. Their specific writing contributions and their ongoing roles are identified in the Report. The value of four years of satisfying work together goes far beyond any acknowledgement that can be given here.

Dale C. Lake collaborated closely in the creation of the Project and was a strong co-investigator during the first year, with staff members Bunty Ketcham, Denise Burch, and Julie Quain.

We are very grateful for the additional field work efforts of Wynne Galanter, Dan Lauffer, Alaka Wali, Robin Geller, and Wamboi Kironde.

Professor Rein van der Vegt of the University of Nijmegen, as visiting research associate, was especially helpful in conceptualization, instrumentation, project planning, and manuscript review. He also provided generous secretarial and support services at Nijmegen during the spring of 1978.

Joe Lopatin and Peter Abrams of Calculogic, Inc. managed our data processing with competence and speed.

Jolene Vrchota, Thomas Cook, and Joan Charles provided coding and clerical assistance; administrative and secretarial support came from Ann Wechsler, Anita McCabe, and Gay Gaskins. The Final Report was meticulously, even cheerfully, typed by Judy Woolcock, Evelyn Ledyard and Audrey McGhie.

We appreciated very much the competent fiscal and administrative services of Stephanie Clohesy and Sophie Sa of the Center for Policy Research. Parallel thanks to Paul Collins and Jay Sexter of Fordham University, who administered our Teacher Corps funds.

Several dozen colleagues assisted the project with manuscript review, came to our work conferences, and advised on project planning and strategy. They are named at appropriate places in the Report. Here we mention with gratitude those who served in our pool of consultants to school sites: Billie Alban, Marc Bassin, Peter Block, Lloyd Bishop, Bob Chasnoff, Felicia Clark, Al Fitz, Ann Lieberman, Peter Muniz, Saul Pilnick, Herb Shepard, and Mary Hunter Wolf.

We want to express our strong appreciation to William L. Smith, the director of Teacher Corps, who provided warm encouragement and support for our early exploratory work, and for the intensive development of learning materials. And we do not think any project of this sort has ever had better project officers than ours at NIE proved to be: Mary Milne, Charles Thompson, Elisabeth Hansot and Fritz Mulhauser gave thoughtful commentary, steady stimulation, and sustained support.

Perhaps our most helpful collaborators must go unidentified. The several hundred people from our six schools whose work we studied were far from being mere objects of study. Many gave active energy to helping us think through the issues of planning and implementation in new schools. They gave us full and thorough access, and many gave extra time. The study would have been impossible without their help. We know from some, and hope for all, that their learning has been as valuable as ours.

Overview of the Case Studies

Each of the case studies in Part III of the Final Report was based on two to three years' documentation of the planning and implementation of a complete new school for which innovative expectations were held. Our aims were to follow what happened along the way as carefully as possible; to describe, and if possible explain the processes that occurred; and to show how these processes were related to the achievement, revision or abandonment of the original innovative hopes. We believe we have been successful. We hope readers will test that belief carefully as they proceed.

The five case studies include:

Miles, M.B., Westgate Schools: a case study of two open-space elementary schools.

These schools emphasized open education in new open-space settings, in a small, suburban district.

Gold, B.A., with M.B.Miles, Change and conflict: educational innovation in community context.

A new, open-space elementary school came into severe conflict with its suburban community, Lincoln Acres.

Miles, M.B., E.W. Sullivan, and B.A. Gold, College High School: a planning case study.

This experimental high school, involving collaboration between the Lakeport urban school district and a college, was not implemented.

Sieber, S.D., and M.B. Miles, The founding of Julius Appelbaum High School.

A new high school for business careers was set in the same urban school district, reaching out to the local business community.

Sullivan, E.W., Arts Co-op: a case study of an experimental high school program.

This jointly-sponsored school brought practicing artists together with students from an urban and several suburban school districts.

We should express here our warm appreciation to the people whose work we studied during the years of our project. They must remain anonymous through the pseudonyms we have given them, but they are far from anonymous to us. They were not only almost unfailingly cordial and helpful to our efforts, but also supplied useful corrections and interpretations to draft versions of the cases. They taught us a great deal during the course of the project, and we are happy to say that many told us they had learned from the experience themselves.

In drafting the cases from a data base which usually involved several thousand pages of field notes, documents, and questionnaire data, we soon found that they could not be forced into a standard length. Each case is as long as its authors considered necessary for a thorough understanding of what occurred.

The cases were all guided by the general framework of ideas outlined in Part I, although each naturally has some idiosyncratic features.

The case studies have been organized according to a common format to permit easy comparison. Each one provides a general overview of the school as it now exists, then backtracks to its early history. We then see the flow of planning and implementation over time. A summary assessment of each school's success, and our explanations, are followed by commentary from participants in each school, who offer their views on what happened and why.

A Table of Contents at the front of each case is designed to provide an overview of the case structure, and enable rapid access to its parts.

It should be noted that the flow of each case separates sections which describe the events and processes ("Chronology") from those which provide interpretations ("Analysis and Commentary"). Thus the reader can more easily see whether alternative interpretations are possible.

We have already found these cases very productive for teaching and training purposes. It works well to give learners the cases in sequenced segments. They first see a "Chronology" section, then develop their own interpretations, and predictions of what will happen next. Then they receive the "Analysis and Commentary" section before proceeding to the next "Chronology" section, and so on.

The reader interested in general conclusions drawn from all five case studies should refer to Part IV of the Final Report.

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Introduction

In February, 1977, Arts Co-op, a regional public high school program for the arts, opened in the lower Winchester County area. The culmination of a three year planning effort, the half time program sought to fulfill needs of highly talented and creative youngsters not currently met by the regular school systems. Involving the participation of one urban center (Waterton) with at first five and then six suburban towns (Winchester, Warren, Harbor View, Adams, Bailey and Conway) and the local Diocese, its planning and implementation was as much aimed at developing a successful regional, integrated alternative as it was at creating a high quality program in the arts. Representatives of both the educational and artistic communities took part in the planning, coordinated by the area's regional intermediate educational agency, Intermediate Area Services Cooperative, one of a number of such organizations throughout this state. Mrs. Jane Sobel, then a staff member of IASC, was appointed project coordinator in charge of the planning by Dr. George Richland, the then Executive Director of IASC.

Several features distinguished Arts Co-op from the other schools in our study. For one, it was a special purpose school, focused on the arts, and not offering a regular academic program at all; students took their academic subjects in the mornings and came to Arts Co-op in the afternoon. Second, it was the result of a regional planning effort, involving a number of adjacent school districts who agreed that this was a financially and educationally effective way to present special needed services. The regional nature of the project meant that planning and implementation could not be carried out only within the internal confines of each district's standard operating procedures, but demanded instead a complex process involving careful representation and attention to a large variety of stakeholders (superintendents, Board of Education members, State Department people, individual artists and institutionally connected artists, arts teachers, guidance counselors, et al). Third, the school was to be financed by tuition payments allocated by the participating school districts, voted upon yearly by each town's Board of Education. In other words, the school did not have an easy guarantee of initial or continued financial survival, since it required yearly affirmations from six or more Boards of Education, whose membership and priorities could easily change during a time when educational costs were spiraling and taxpayers were no longer giving carte blanche to educational spending as they had 10 and 20 years earlier.

The planners for Arts Co-op tried to create something new and innovative, both structurally (through the regional arrangement) and organizationally (through its intent to address unfulfilled needs and create a community and atmosphere conducive to artistic and creative growth). Their efforts were sincere and child-centered, led by Jane Sobel, an activist in educational change, who had been looking for opportunities to start regional alternative projects aimed at breaking down the increasing isolation between the urban center, Waterton, from its ring of affluent suburbs.

The planning began in April, 1974, with a questionnaire administered by IASC to determine what kind of regional project would be most acceptable to the area towns, and 11 out of the 14 responded with an interest in a high school for the arts. But the real history of the effort goes back

even farther, and is connected to earlier attempts to develop regional projects, (including one by Jane Sobel), which had all ended in some kind of failure (either the whole project would be scrapped or one district would take it as its own). Between April, 1974 and the following fall, Jane Sobel began a course of action designed to make sure that this regional effort would not go the way of the other planning attempts in the lower Winchester County area. In fact, the planning strategy took careful note of many of the concerns surrounding regional projects and was instructive in its ability to join together numerous interests under a common goal. A planning group met from May, 1975 through June, 1976, when a director for the school, David Steinhoff, was hired to complete the planning and open the school the following February, 1977. At the same time, IASC underwent a reorganization and it too hired a new director, Dr. David Kelman, who discontinued Jane Sobel as part of IASC staff.

Arts Co-op, more than any other school in our study, stayed true to the intent and vision of the planners; they got what they had said they wanted. There were many reasons for this, and it is the task of this case study to illuminate these.

In brief, Arts Co-op is doing what it set out to do. It has been providing a high quality program with a staff of practicing artists to a group of highly creative and talented youngsters from city and suburbs, with a range of different backgrounds -- youngsters whose needs were not being met by the existing school programs. As we shall see, student, staff and parent comments, observed behavior, and questionnaire responses support this conclusion.

At the time of the writing of this case study, however, Arts Co-op is at a cusp point, hovering in uncertainty. The first director, David Steinhoff, has resigned, and a replacement has been chosen. There is no guarantee at the moment that the school will continue in the direction it has been going, one which was congruent with the planners' vision and with which staff, students, and parents seem to have concurred. The supervising/coordinating agency, IASC, and its director, David Kelman, will undoubtedly gain more say in what goes on in the school, a major point of conflict throughout the life of the school. The financial future of the school is still uncertain, although it is funded at least through the next year. Half the students will be graduating, and half will return next year. Of the staff, at least one will return but the others are uncertain. As has been the case in the past, space for the school is still inadequate; it is housed as a "second class citizen" within an existing university. Several towns have been forced to drop out because of large district-wide budget cuts.

Will Arts Co-op survive? Will it be around in five years? If it is, will it routinize and become traditional or remain innovative and adaptive to individual needs? We cannot predict, and it makes it doubly frustrating to have to leave the story at this juncture. The succession of leadership and the transition period which is underway will have still more to teach us about the politics and realities of planning, implementing, and sustaining a new educational and social system.

This is the story of a group of people who carefully envisioned a new social system, and communicated that vision to a director and staff for them to implement. It is the story of a group of talented and "potentially" talented young people who entered as passive actors waiting to have something done to them, and who left as active participants in their own education and creative development. It is the story of the development of a community of people that cut across divisions by age, sex, class, residence, and ethnicity, around a common interest in the arts.

This is also the story of a developing organization in its larger context of certain educational and political issues: of regionalization, integration, financing, accountability; about the struggles between centralization versus local control, standardization versus specialization, uniformity versus flexibility and variability, rationalist bureaucracy versus human relations organizations. It is a story about power and political strategy.

The Research

Contact with the Arts Co-op planning first occurred in February, 1975, when Miles, the research project director, and Sullivan met with Mrs. Jane Sobel at IASC headquarters in Woodsville; Guy and Jean Janacek, Waterton residents interested in revitalizing downtown Waterton, and chairing the attempt to build an arts center complex of which an arts high school might form part; and Anthony Lombardo, then the Acting Superintendent of Waterton schools. No agreements were made at that time, for although everyone was open to establishing a research relationship, distance and commuting time between research offices and the proposed planning site were considered a potential obstacle. In April, the researchers decided to risk the distance problem, since the planning looked intriguing; we thought that despite the structural fragility of the regional arrangement, the planners seemed to have a good chance of producing a successful innovative school.

From early 1975 to June of 1978, 183 contacts were made, including interviews, observation of meetings, and telephone calls. Sullivan was the primary fieldworker for the site, with other research staff members visiting occasionally.[1] All planning meetings and major events were covered by the researchers.

Access and entry were extremely easy in this site. This was facilitated by the fact that Jane Sobel was interested in the notion of documenting the planning process; in many ways, she shared the goals of our research, and was extremely astute herself about social relations and group process. She kept excellent written records of the planning. She understood what we were trying to get at with our study of "social architecture", and was, understandably, an ideal informant. The Janaceks also saw an advantage to the relationship with our research project, both from the public relations angle of being selected as a research site by a prestigious educational researcher and as a part of the documentation and preservation of local history.

To formalize the relationship, Jane checked with the Executive Committee of IASC (composed at the time of the superintendents of the area towns), with the administration of IASC, and the planning committee. All were agreeable to the relationship. David Schwartz of the planning group warned, however, that:

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1) Other members of the Social Architecture staff who visited the site and wrote up their observations included Dr. Matthew B. Miles, and Dr. Barry Gold. From February, 1977 through June, 1977 Ms. Robin Geller and Ms. Alaka Wali observed the opened school along with Sullivan. Visitors to our research project included Dr. Rein van der Vegt of The University of Nijmegen, Netherlands, and a potential fieldworker trying out for a position with our project, Ms. Stella Manne. Their observations were invaluable in helping to provide a perspective external to the participants' and the primary fieldworker.

> The danger is for us to begin to feel that outside historians are trying to give us THE truth, when in fact it is only A truth, and I think we should keep that in mind.

But with that understood, and the researcher's agreement with that assumption, the contract was signed.

For the first year of research, field work consisted mostly of attending meetings and interviewing people at fairly regular intervals. We tracked most of the activity connected to the planning, which tended not to be an everyday thing but rather discrete events (meetings, telephone calls). After the director was hired in June, 1976, this changed, and the planning became a total occupation of the planner/implementers until the opening of the school. Field contacts increased but the researcher could no longer be sure she was catching everything since so much was happening so quickly. Periodic chronological interviews with the director and with Jane Sobel helped. We had complete and free access to all Arts Co-op files.

In February, 1975, a report summarizing the planning up to that date was written by the researcher; copies were given to Jane Sobel, who distributed the document to all planning committee members, key stakeholders, and later, members of the screening committee for the director. She also passed it on to David Steinhoff when he was hired, and David in turn gave copies to people who were evaluating the program and needed to know about the early planning. The report did not change the planners' views about their reality, but it did present the major pieces and facts in one place in a public document which became part of the school's historical record and permanent file.

In May and June, 1977, our project administered a set of questionnaires -- a combination of short-answer and open-ended items -- to students and staff designed to measure the functioning "state of the system", including such areas as climate, goals, communication, problems, planning, governance, opinions, etc. Of 16 faculty, 12 responded, and of 54 students, 46 responded. Questionnaire data were compiled and a copy given to the school. Interestingly, the director revised and used these instruments in nearly original form the following year, in May/June 1978, as well as a new questionnaire for parents.

It should be noted that David used many devices to evaluate and reflect on the school; the questionnaires were one of a string of instruments and forums for comment, complaint, and suggestions. Arts Co-op people were accustomed to being tapped for their feelings and responses; although some were tired of the continual questioning, their responses "rang true" and seemed to be straightforward and honest, congruent with what we observed as the reality of the school.

The conditions under which both the original questionnaires and the director's adaptation were administered should be noted. In June, 1977, after the first five months of operation, a conflict between the staff and the director skewed some of the results, not so much in

negative directions, but in more highly charged ways than were really reflective of the working state of the system. And the following year, June, 1978, the director had handed in his resignation after a long and awful battle with IASC, and staff and students were extremely upset at losing him; questionnaire results hence may be skewed this time in a positive direction, and also highly charged.

Although the field work was to formally end in June, 1977, the researcher kept in contact with David Steinhoff, Jane Sobel, and the school, made several visits during the fall and spring of 1977-78, and talked on the phone with participants. Conflict between the Arts Co-op director and IASC director and between Arts Co-op and IASC caused a great deal of turmoil during the year, and threatened the survival of Arts Co-op as its planners had envisioned it. This was tracked in narrative form through phone calls to Jane and David, but there was only limited interviewing of other conflict participants, and attendance at a few gatherings and meetings connected to the conflict. The researcher had a very difficult time trying to detach herself from the continuing story, where each succeeding piece expanded the scope of the research and also made it emotionally impossible to disconnect at the height of the drama.

Staff, students, planners, and supporters of the school viewed the researcher as a "friend". In fact, the researcher's biases and perspectives should be noted here; I was not a purely "objective" observer, in that I shared the planners/implementers belief that this school would be/is an exciting, good, humane place. I had much in common with Jane Sobel, and shared basic philosophical and political notions about schools and education with her. The director, David Steinhoff is a neighbor of mine; when he drove me home after his interview for the job we found we knew people in common in educational research and change.

Our structural positions in society were fairly similar. Like Jane and David, the researcher is white, Jewish, and from an upper middle class background. This is not to say that I completely adopted the perspectives or attitudes of my key informants, but there was an immediate common basis which existed and undoubtedly influenced my general stance toward the planning and implementation, probably in a favorable, supportive direction. The relationships among David, Jane and myself were probably also age-influenced: Jane is in her early 50's, David mid-30's, and I mid-20's. The relationships were clearly warm and mutually supportive, with something of a maternal flavor between Jane and David, and Jane and myself.

In addition, the research was characterized by certain other distinguishing features. There was a written contract between the school and the research project. We also offered consulting help (by paying half the fee for a "process", "organization", or "planning" consultant). The role of the researcher was laid out in writing, as was the role of a consultant the school might use. We distributed a four-page abstract or "handout" describing our research project to all planning participants and other interested parties. Most important, we sought the relationship with the school, rather than the school's having located us.

The Background: Social, Historical and Political

Any new school like Arts Co-op exists in a surrounding web of forces. Context determines much. And context cannot be clearly understood without a look at history.

Regionalization

The notion of regionalized education is not simple, and needs to be understood both politically and educationally. Historically, each town in the area controlled its own schools, and was responsible for locating viable support for the education of its populace. A strong tradition of "local control" pervades the area, not only around education but around government in general, and has its roots in historical processes dating back to colonization. The issues: who pays and who has control over what goes on. In actual fact, while local control is still very much a concern of town taxpayers, only a very small proportion of the education budget is now even open for decisions by the individual district; so many programs are now mandated by the state or federal government that local control is becoming more and more of a myth.

Regionalized educational projects consist of districts cooperating with one another across traditional boundary lines, sharing resources and decision making power. In the case of the proposed regional high school for the arts, the supporters of regionalization were also advocates of educational and societal change and saw regionalization as a means to that end. There was resistance in the Winchester County area both to the sharing of resources and to the advocated social and educational changes implied by regionalization. Historically, most of the regional projects proposed for the area had been characterized by aborted planning attempts which were either totally abandoned or implemented by only one of the districts involved.[2] In order to understand these and later events, we must look briefly at the history and sociology of the area; current pressures from the state, legislature, and courts toward regionalization; and prevailing attitudes about educational change and improvement.

History of the Area

The lower Winchester County area was originally settled in colonial times by the English, and Winchester and Warren, established in the mid-1600s, were the earliest settlements. Waterton, which was established in 1836, had been carved out of an area between Winchester and Warren in 1798. With good harbors and rivers, trade flourished, but the area, caught between two larger trade centers, was always second to the larger urban centers to the north and west.

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2) Jane's earlier attempt to start an urban/suburban high school was well in this tradition, as was another school, the Green City Alternative High School, originally intended to include Waterton and its suburbs, but ending up as a Waterton program instead.

The Congregational Church was the major church in the 1600s. This form of religious organization is perhaps one of the bases for the long-standing tradition of local control in the whole region; a non-centralized system, each church was run by its own local congregation. Although the Congregational Church was disestablished in 1818, the Congregationalists are still the largest Protestant sect in the state. The other important early church in the area was the Anglican Church, the national church of Lngland, which established its first churches in the early 18th century in Warren and Winchester. Winchester County was a Tory stronghold during the Revolution.

With the industrial revolution in the 19th century came urbanization and the creation of the modern city. Railroads were built, factories constructed, businesses established, homes for the wealthy built. With the new work opportunities afforded by the changing economic organization, immigrants from Ireland and Germany flooded into the state in the 1840s and 50s, concentrating in the urban areas. Population exploded and the cities experienced rapid development and expansion. There was a dire shortage of housing for lower income families, but no governmental welfare or service agencies yet existed to deal with the problems caused by urbanization and industrialization.

The issue of political representation is of interest to us here, since it is a precursor of the struggles between the cities and suburbs which is at the root of many of the regionalization questions. By the mid 1800s rapid industrialization in Northtown and Winchester counties had caused rapid population growth. In the state legislature, the small towns with sparse populations were highly overrepresented; they had one representative per 500 persons, while the cities had only one per 10,000. Attempts to redistrict in constitutional conventions did not really change much, since the rural towns would not willingly give up control and the urban centers were populated by newly arrived immigrants who had little power.

Until this time, the state had been almost entirely English, in fact "WASP", with small numbers of French and Dutch settlers. The original settlers had been mostly upper class. With the arrival of the first immigrants, Catholic, non-English speaking, and poor, a great deal of anti-Catholic, pro-nativist sentiment developed.

A tremendous wave of immigration into the United States from the 1880s through the 1920s brought into the state enormous numbers of Italians, Irish, Poles, and Slavs, and French Canadians. Eastern European Jews from Lithuania, Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Galicia moved in, outnumbering the earlier arrived German Jews. Most of the Catholic groups tended to form churches with their own native speakers; the area is still full of ethnic churches which form the center of many of the communities within Waterton and the suburbs. With the growth of the Catholic immigrant population the Catholic Church expanded, and three dioceses were set up in the state, one in the Waterton area. The Diocese, a participant in the planning of Arts Co-op, operates its own schools, and draws approximately 15,000 students from the Winchester County area, of which about 5,000 attend the high schools

With World War I, the arms industry began to boom in the state, and Waterton and Winchester had a number of plants. Plant closings after the war meant the loss of nearly 30,000 jobs. But defense work has remained an important industry.

Between 1920 and 1930, the suburb was born. While the cities experienced substantial but not outrageous population growth (15-20%), the suburbs exploded with about 65% growth. Those who could afford to escape the increasingly crowded, noisy, dirty, congested and troubled cities did so, aided by the new transportation of the automobile.

At the same time, immigration was cut off by the 1924 Immigration Act, and no new waves of immigrants appeared until World War II, which brought a large Puerto Rican population in pursuit of the additional defense jobs created by the war. Following the war and into the 1950s and 60s, declining agricultural and economic conditions in the southern part of the United States sent Blacks north in search of work and opportunities. While Warren and Winchester had always had some Blacks among their populations (in 1774, there were 5,000 Blacks in the state, and Warren and Winchester each had about 300),[3] the area had previously been mostly White. The Hispanic population continued to increase, and Waterton's Puerto Rican population came to be among the largest in the region.

The first and second migrations had been White, non-English speaking poor Catholics and Jews coming into an area dominated by upper class White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The third migration was of non-Whites, also poor, and partly non-English speaking, coming into an area that had been mostly White from the colonial era until well into the 20th century.

Industrial development in the area was by now on the decline. Factories were beginning to close, jobs were becoming scarcer, unemployment was on the rise, and opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled labor decreased. The new immigrants found themselves competing with the older White ethnics for jobs. Welfare and housing needs became even more pressing. As the Blacks and Hispanics moved in, the Whites moved to the north of the city and to the suburbs.

The 1960s and 70s saw the deterioration of the center of the city, with the departure of many of the small commercial ventures, (the specialty shops, better department stores, local delicatessens), replaced by discount stores and fast food chains. Shopping centers in the suburbs provided better quality merchandise, free parking, no fear of crime, and easier access, thus eliminating the need to go "downtown". Professionals, banks and insurance companies also began moving out.

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3) There had existed a sizeable class of Black artisans from colonial times into the 19th century. But with the development of craft and labor unions, Blacks were excluded from both the organizations and jobs, and were essentially pushed out of market competition.

The Current Situation: An Isolated Inner City

With the flight of the middle and upper classes from the city, the tax base for urban Waterton has diminished. Property taxes are the main means of financing education (the state has no income tax), and increasing inequities have developed in both the level of educational opportunity and the tax burden between city and suburbs. Per pupil costs in Waterton cover more administration and less actual instruction than in the suburbs. With the decline of Waterton as a commercial and shopping center, there is little reason for suburbanites (or even those who live in the north part of the city) to come into the city anymore. The suburbs look toward the larger cities, including Northtown, not Waterton, as their focus, carrying on the historical tradition of the dominance of those two centers in the lower Winchester County area. Separation between the ethnic groups, large-scale immigration, and White flight have been contributing factors to the tremendous isolation between the city and suburbs. The suburbs, like the small towns historically, actually have much more power, money, and resources than do the cities. Only recently has legislation begun to favor the urban centers.

Many of the White families who moved out of the city did not do so for specifically racist reasons, but often in search of "better" schools for their children. The Waterton school population "tipped" in 1975 to become more than 55% minority (approximately 35% Black and 20% Hispanic; the teachers were 82% White, 15% Black and 3% Hispanic). Shortly thereafter, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare ordered Waterton to present a plan for integrating its schools. Until 1978, this plan still had not been developed, and Waterton had already lost some of its federal funding as a result. Waterton is beginning to find itself in a predicament similar to that of the larger urban centers of the country, where true integration can only happen if education is regionalized to include a mix of city and suburb. This causes great consternation for many of the families of the suburbs, especially those who feel they have worked hard to be able to give their children a better education and now find themselves faced with supporting those same schools which they had recently left.

The Participating Towns

The city. Waterton, the urban center, is a declining city in an economically declining region. Many area residents believe further decline is inevitable, but there are a number who feel the city can be turned around, and that there is much worth saving. The city is strapped financially, and there are charges that municipal government is corrupt and tying up federal funds in political patronage jobs.

There are clearly defined neighborhoods within the city, corresponding to socio-economic levels and ethnic groupings. It is easy to see the patterns of migration into, through, and out of the city to the suburbs. Most immigrants, (first the Italians and Eastern Europeans, and then the Blacks and Hispanics) entered through the east side, nearest the harbor and the railroad. They then moved north and west as they moved up the social ladder. The southeast end of the city is the poorest, populated mostly by Blacks, characterized by a desolate housing project

which had earlier been the domain of the Italian immigrants, when the gardens had not yet been paved over with macadam and concrete. Latin neighborhoods are dotted throughout the south and east and southwest of the city, in areas which had been populated by White ethnics earlier. A tacit dividing line (a large avenue) separates the north end of the city, which is almost completely White, from the south half. Hispanics and Blacks are generally not welcomed in the north. The Whites in the north end often move to the adjacent suburbs (especially Bailey or to less expensive towns a little farther north.)

Churches and community centers of the particular ethnic group in each neighborhood are often a focal point or identifying feature for each area. For example, in one part of the north end, there is a Jewish community center next to an Italian community center, and down the street a Greek Orthodox center, reflecting the White ethnic populations of the neighborhood. The Polish neighborhood is centered around its church and has its own school.

Most of the city, especially the southern half, is both residential and industrial. Many of the houses are small frame two-story buildings with front porches dating back to the 1870s when the mayor built much needed housing to create a haven for the working man. Now they are fire traps, and a number are burned-out hulks. The same mayor and other wealthy residents also built some architectural landmark homes and buildings. There are numerous parks and access to the rivers and waterfront, accounting for the nickname "Green City".

The suburbs. The suburbs are very different from the city. While they do not all fit into the "gold coast" designation often applied to this area, the suburban towns are generally well-off, characterized by a strong tradition of local control, vocal participation in educational and governmental affairs, and despite population turnover, the maintenance of stable town identities. The suburbs are green, pretty, quiet exhibits of original and contemporary Americana.

Warren is probably the least suburban of the towns, in that it has its own airport, major industry, and non-service businesses employing a goodly percentage of the population. It has the largest socio-economic range and also the largest percentage of minorities (5%) of the suburbs. (All the others have between .5 and 2%, while Waterton's overall population is between 30% and 40% minority.) Warren also houses a well-known classical theater which was forced to skip its season last year due to financial problems and lack of sufficient support.

Winchester, a colonial town like Warren, and the largest of the suburbs in our study, has pockets of extremely wealthy, old established Yankee families. Dogwood-lined streets, no sidewalks, beautiful homes, a picturesque harbor with sailboats moored to water-color painting piers characterize parts of the town.

Bailey, adjacent to the north end of Waterton, receives much of the White flight from Waterton and serves as a bedroom community for the city. It is nearly completely White, as is Adams, its neighbor, the most rural of the participating towns. Adams is still partly farmland, and is smaller, more provincial, and not as wealthy as Winchester, Bailey or Harbor View.

Harbor View is the newest of the suburbs. More than the others, Harbor View is a bedroom community for the large city to the south, populated by many executives and professionals, and in fact looks to the city to the west as its focal point. Homes are very expensive (the least expensive start at $80,000), and zoning is carefully restricted.

These six towns, along with the Diocese, were the main planners and implementers of Arts Co-op. Another town, Conway, has since joined the program, through the initiation of a student who wanted to be part of the school; there has been little central office participation from the town, although the Board of Education to whom the student and his parents took their case is well aware of Arts Co-op.

The educational structures in the participating towns. All the participating towns have elected Boards of Education, chartered under the State. Local education, like zoning, is delegated by the state to the municipality but remains under the aegis of the state.[4] Board elections are generally partisan, and are held at the same time as regular elections. The partisan split on the Boards has been more and less important in different decades; it is now more important than it was in the 1960s. When Jane ran for the School Board, she had had no history with the party; she commented that since the Democrats had not had a majority on the Board for many years,

> they figured they might as well run a nice PTA lady people liked. Since they weren't going to have any political clout anyway, they could afford to run really education-conscious candidates, rather than people who might use the Board position as a stepping stone to other offices.

In Waterton, the politics of education are fairly intertwined with municipal politics. For example, the central office and Board of Education are housed in City Hall. The mayor and the controller make their weight felt in decisions about education. But in the suburbs, for the most part, the mayor generally stays detached from the school system,[5] except that the municipal government always takes strong positions on building and construction, since that is capital investment and must be part of the municipal budget. Education has a separate budget, but (and this is very

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4) During Jane Sobel's tenure as Harbor View Board President (in her 5th and 6th years on the Board), she initiated Harbor View's participation in a study of urban/suburban isolation and a series of intercity programs designed to decrease that isolation. There was a tremendous conflict around this involvement, and opponents petitioned to recall Jane as Board President. This move failed because it was ruled that since the Board, once elected is under State charter, Board members were not subject to local recall regulations.

5) A battle in Bailey between the mayor and superintendent in 1975 which culminated in the departure of the superintendent was not typical of relationships in the suburban towns.

important for the Arts Co-op financing) when monies are spent by the Board of Education which are reimbursable by the state or federal government (e.g. for special education or programs for the gifted), that money returns to the town's general fund, not to the education budget.

The size of the central education offices within the participating towns varies; Waterton has the largest number of administrators (although cutbacks have been so severe that there are no longer even any central curriculum coordinators), while Adams' central administration consists of only three people.*

The Boards of Education are generally accessible to the people in this area. Anybody who has anything to say can go to a Board meeting and be heard. As Jane Sobel commented, "People call up Board members at home all the time -- God only knows!" However, the overall percentage of people who actually participate in school affairs is quite low. Despite an appearance of stability, especially in the suburbs, population turnover in the towns is quite high, although many people stay within the area but move from town to town.

Budget development for these districts generally follows a route from the central office/superintendent (with increasing inclusion of teachers/parents/students) to the Board of Education, which has power to change, reduce, or, occasionally, add to the budget. The Board has control over the internal allocations. Then the budget goes outside the education system to the municipal system, to a Board of Finance or Taxation, which recommends a total figure, frequently less than what the Board of Education has asked for. Citizens committees, PTA's, teachers associations, and special advocates can get into the act at this point, sometimes for further cuts or in support of sustaining the Board's budget. The Board of Finance can either approve or cut the overall dollar amount; they cannot add money to it and they cannot tell the Board what specifically must be cut. A final check is provided in the case of the towns (the city's charter differs) through action of the local legislative body, successor to the Town Meeting.

At this point, however, citizens have some power to make substantial changes through referenda. These have only recently come into use in the area; several years ago, Winchester had a referendum call by those favoring lower taxes and got the budget reduced by a million dollars. As Jane Sobel said, "That was dramatic, and of course empowered other citizens to consider the same route." Harbor View's budget was cut by nearly $800,000 after this. In contrast to the 1950s and 60s, when there was little interference with superintendent and Board level money decisions, education people now approach budget-making with new fears. Anyone can call for a referendum after the funds have been allocated.

The Pro's and Con's of Regionalization

The historical and prevailing explicit rationale for educational regionalization and for the regional centers in the state makes a dual case: that several districts pooling their resources can be more "cost effective" than individual districts replicating expensive services (such as those for the handicapped); and that certain types of programs and specialized projects are more suited to an interdistrict setup, (such as

*Jane Sobel, in her comments, stated that the "ratio of administrators to staff and to students is more significant than the number."

a school for the arts, an alternative school). This all sounds fairly harmless and unprovocative. But let us examine some of the underlying political dimensions of regionalization to understand why there is such a history of resistance to regional education in the lower Winchester County area of the state.

Financing. The 1975 goals of the State Department of Education emphasized finding means other than the property tax to finance education. There is biannually a bill, so far defeated, in the Legislature for fiscal independence of the schools, meaning that there would be a separate school tax levied separate from property or other taxes. One of the bill's major drawbacks is the likelihood of perennial struggles over bond issues.

In the spring of 1977, the state courts ruled that the property tax method of financing was unconstitutional and the state is under pressure to come up with new solutions soon.

This area, as we have mentioned, has a longstanding tradition of local control of government and education. If local taxes are financing local education, then the taxpayers have the right and the power to make decisions about their local schools. But if money is collected centrally and then redistributed, this potential control is diluted. Further, if monies collected are based on a sliding scale (e.g. as part of an income tax), the wealthier will in effect be supporting education for the poorer, and their money is not their own to spend. It has even been proposed that there be a limit on individual district spending, based on the number of "heads", as a means of equalizing educational opportunity. The lower Winchester County area has often been nicknamed the "gold coast"; property values in many of the suburban areas are extremely high, and taxes can be lower since a smaller proportion of the wealth is needed to run the community. Hence the property taxes bring in larger amounts to spend on education at less burden to the taxpayer, while the cities have higher tax rates and bring in comparatively smaller amounts of revenues.

Thus regionalization implies sharing the wealth, with some giving up and some gaining. It also goes against some deeply-held "American" ideas of individual profit and reward; to some of the locals, regionalization is seen as creeping socialism.

Integration. The increasing isolation of the city from its ring of suburbs has been a political and an ideological concern of progressives in education. Studies on which educational policy have been based have held that schools with predominantly minority populations have access to fewer resources, are assigned less qualified or experienced teachers, and in general offer a lower level of educational opportunity. In the 1960s the Coleman Report, which underlay a great many legislative and judicial decisions, held that Black children benefit academically from classroom association with middle class Whites.

Since the 1960s, the federal government has undertaken to rectify the unequal access to resources and opportunity. Originally concentrating on

the clearly segregated schools of the South, the Office of Civil Rights in H.E.W. has, for the past few years, been investigating the ethnic situations in large city schooling. Integration plans have been demanded from many of the cities, with the threat of a loss of federal funds if there is not compliance. H.E.W. considers a school system to be segregated if one school is segregated, and a system-wide solution must be devised. In some cities, such as Boston, the courts have undertaken the responsibility of designing and enforcing integration plans. As the cities become more and more heavily dominated by minority populations, integration within the city grows increasingly difficult. Inter-city integration waits in the wings as the next possible step, one that will predictably cause great conflict. (For example, in New York State, it was rumored, though denied, that the Regents' request for Commissioner Nyquist's resignation resulted from his unpopular belief in the necessity of inter-city busing.) And in the area in 1968, an Urban Coalition Project involving a regional city/suburban plan to study and decrease urban/suburban isolation, partly by busing, caused an enormous conflict. The Ku Klux Klan demonstrated at some Board meetings and emotions ran high.

Local control vs centralization. Methods of financing and questions of integration take us back to questions of local control versus centralization. Regionalization implies a loss of local control and a concentration of decision making power in an overarching structure. It gives the state more opportunity to influence local affairs, through a structure of regional or intermediate educational agencies.

Historically, a mid-19th century state law gave individual towns control over their own school systems, and held them responsible for financing them. But, as Michael Katz (1971) points out, the latter part of the 20th century saw a struggle between those who advocated maintaining local control and a symbiotic relationship between school and community and those who believed that education could be made more effective and efficient if it were professionalized, standardized, centralized, and taken out of the domain of local provincial interests. The latter group succeeded most completely in the urban centers, but they also emerged in non-urban areas as the dominant force which continually cut into local control of the schools. So while a local lay Board of Education and a local superintendent were concessions to the local control side, compulsory education, graded schools, standardized curriculum teacher training and certification, and a bureaucratized form of organization were the products of the forces to centralize.

Standardization vs specialization. Connected to the notion of centralization is another conflict which reflects similar underlying tensions and is particularly applicable to our case study -- that of standardization versus specialization. Centralization implies a certain uniformity and standardization both of content (curriculum) and organization. Issues around the desirability of standard curricula versus individualization of learning experiences have been matters of argument throughout the last century (not decade, as many would suppose), as have questions of decentralization or centralization of school governance and administration. The experimental, individualistic curricula of the 1960s have given way in the 1970s to a back-to-basics movement characterized by standardized curricula and accountability to the state and/or federal

government for the accomplishment of particular learning objectives (such as New Jersey's Thorough and Efficient Education Act of 1976).

There has been increasing recognition in recent years of the different needs of specialized populations, such as the handicapped or gifted and talented student. The identification and definition of these needs has often led to legislation making additional earmarked funds available to local schools; consequently, there is a tendency for educators to try to locate specialized populations, providing for their needs and bringing in greater resources for the schools at the same time.

However, there are often only a few children requiring specialized services in any one local school district. To be economical and to be able to secure highly specialized and skilled professionals as staff, the catchment area needs to be extended beyond the confines of the local town. In effect, specialization needs regionalization. Regionalization, however, requires a certain amount of centralization to coordinate the efforts and interests of the different school districts. So there is an inherent tension within regionalization between a need for uniformity of organization and a specialization of content. As we shall see, this tension existed in the development of Arts Co-op.

To summarize: regionalization means centralization of resources and decision making, and centralization means a loss of local control. In this conceptualization, it is the interests of the individual district against the interests of the state, the federal government, and the courts. These last three have recently been gaining increasing say in what goes on in the local schools. The regional centers that we will be describing next are actually intermediate agencies, an attempt to coordinate efforts of local districts and to mediate between them and the state. Some see this as a further encroachment by the state into the area of local control.

The State Push for Regionalization

The establishment of the regional centers. In the mid-1960s, the State Department of Education made it clear that there was Title III (the innovative programs act) money available to start regional centers for the purpose of undertaking special projects. For the purposes of organizing these regional educational centers, the State Department of Education divided the state into five geographic areas. Each area contained at least one urban center plus suburbs and rural areas. Decisions about how to organize the regional arrangement were left up to each area. During the next few years, various forms of regional structures were implemented, and most of the five areas formed "inter-district committees," a state-approved designation meaning that any two or more districts could join together formally and become eligible for certain funds. New legislation was introduced which enabled areas to reconstitute themselves as "regional centers," a somewhat more cohesive and binding arrangement based on a contractual agreement among a group of area towns. Regional centers were also eligible for additional funds.

Most areas except the Winchester County area decided to be reconstituted as regional centers. The Winchester group, resistant to the notion of regionalization and worried about loss of control, remained

through June, 1977, an inter-district committee, the loosest and least demanding arrangement available for regional cooperation. Most of the other agencies set up a dues structure; IASC, the Winchester agency, offered its services cafeteria style to any area district who wanted them. (One drawback of this was the inability of the organization to plan for the following year with any degree of certainty about budget.) The Northtown area group was able to use its Title III allocation as a capital fund, and built a stable financial structure quite rapidly. But IASC limped along financially, and while it did develop some interesting projects, it did not have a great deal of support from or clout with the area towns.

When the regional agency was conceived, the integration aspects of relating the cities and suburbs were not the primary concern. But it began to make sense to use the regional agencies as a way of decreasing urban/suburban isolation and de facto segregation, and also as a means of bringing in additional resources to the urban centers. Regional projects involving not just suburban districts but urban and suburban districts were increasingly encouraged.

And the State saw the regional centers more and more as a potential tool for change. The State Commissioner of Education, Joshua Carr, who had explicitly aimed to build up the regional centers, has stated that the regional centers, (as opposed to individual districts), are the preferred funding route for educational projects.

While we have no way of proving whether the State Department's motives involve a desire for increased control over local schooling, it is an issue to note throughout this discussion. The regional agencies are not in any line relationship between the towns and the State Department of Education, and while they are constituted under the State Education Law, they answer to their participating districts, more than to the State Department of Education. The State Commissioner of Education has an explicit policy which says 'we don't interfere in local affairs'. But the State Department can manipulate the local districts with the promise of funding or additional support. And in a state where the percentage of non-local support (state and federal) is quite low, this is not insignificant. So because of legislative mandates and through the use of regional centers as preferred funding routes, the state is already involved in the local scene.

The Special Education Law of 1967 fed directly into the building up of the regional centers. It directed that school systems were responsible for accommodating the special education population in their districts. It was now up to the local districts to provide the handicapped with the services they required. This imposed a tremendous financial burden on the districts, for while 2/3 of the money above the regular per pupil cost was reimbursable, it did not come back until the fiscal year after it had been allocated. Besides, each town had only small percentages of students requiring special services. Since special expertise was needed, it seemed expensive and educationally unsound to replicate programs for a few students in every district. It made sense to use the regional agenices as a means of dealing with these concerns.

Another force toward regionalization came from individuals within the State Department of Education; particularly relevant to this case is Dr. Charles (Chuck) Gould, the State Department consultant for the gifted and talented. Gould has a vision of regional arts programs (like the Northtown Center for the Arts, and the Capital Arts Program in the Fairport area, and Arts Co-op, all of which he was instrumental in helping to initate) covering the entire state. In fact, his vision extends beyond the confines of his own state to take in a region including about 8 states. He is a key figure for the Arts Co-op planning and implementation.

Finally, of course, the regional centers themselves have an interest in their own perpetuation. When we first spoke with Jane Sobel, she indicated that a successful regional high school program for the arts could go a long way toward building up IASC and making it into a more credible and usable organization than it was then perceived.

The National Trend

It is not only in this state that regionalized education is an issue. Intermediate agencies and regional organizations are cropping up all over the country. Massachusetts, New York, Minnesota, Texas, Florida, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, to mention but a few, have regional structures in place. Furthermore, as education costs spiral and increasing demands are being put on the local district by the state and federal government to integrate, provide specialized services, "mainstream", and be closely accountable for students' achievement, individual towns are struggling uphill to manage these complex issues. Whereas in the past, the local district supported and controlled its own schools and what went on inside them, districts have more recently been asked to solve additional societal problems which go far beyond the confines of the local setting. Local schools often have neither the expertise nor the resources to do so, and they are increasingly forced to rely on help from regional agencies or other larger structures.

Pressure for regionalization from within the districts may derive wholly or in part from the increasing scarcity of resources. Jane Sobel once said, reflecting on the 1960s:

> School systems were rich then, remember? So they didn't really need to get together.

As long as there is plenty of money to cover internal district expenses, an inefficient system which replicates services offered in parallel in neighboring districts is not a problem, and is a comfortable arrangement insuring local control. But when resources have to be stretched thin, it is logical to look to others to exchange and share goods and services (Sarason et al, 1977). Thus regionalization can be viewed as the formation of alliances with other groups (districts) facing the same pressures but often with different needs and assets, making "trade" possibly productive and enriching for the participants.

Local Support

Much of the pressure for regionalization on the local level originates with individuals who believe in it as a necessary force for educational change. Jane Sobel is one of these, as is Jacob Rute, the Superintendent of Warren, and Geoff Pampas, the Director of the Green City Alternative High School in Waterton, all members of the planning committee. Although IASC was not the perfect incarnation of the regional center, Jane Sobel felt she had learned in past regional planning attempts that:

> If you want to start an educational innovation, at least in this geographical area, you are much better off starting it within the existing structure than under the aegis of an outside organization.

IASC was within that structure, albeit loosely, and even when the relationships between the arts program and the regional agency later became untenable, Jane Sobel was always torn because she innately supported the regional center idea and IASC as the logical and formal regional structure in the Winchester County area.

Support for regionalization comes also from area districts that need someone to take care of their special education students, especially the more severely handicapped, autistic child. Even districts which are opposed to the other implications of regionalization or that do not like IASC as an organization can usually be counted on for some form of participation as a result of this need.

Summary

The implications of regionalization are intercity integration and shared financing with the possibility of centralized funds collection and redistribution. This means less local control over tax money, programs, and educational direction. There is no assurance of an equitable redistribution of pooled resources and decision making that will satisfy all participating parties.

Regionalization means more say for the state and less for the local district. Integration means federal influence and interference in local affairs and less control for the local district. In an area used to a tradition of local control, it is no wonder that these incursions into the traditional system meet resistance.

The regional agencies within this structure are under pressure to provide services equitably to individual districts and to balance out the needs of the city with those of the suburbs. They are also charged with being "cost effective". Thus, the regional centers must provide quality programs for less money than the districts would have to pay themselves on an individual basis. As we shall see later, the pressure

on IASC to become a financially stable and efficient organization continually increased; during the period of planning and implementation for Arts Co-op, this pressure resulted in a heavy emphasis of money matters before program development, and this had a severe impact on life at Arts Co-op.

Finally, it is important to note that regional education projects produced through this type of arrangement are extremely vulnerable to district withdrawal. On an abstract level, having to renew the participating Boards' mandates yearly may prevent new programs from getting bureaucratically entrenched so that they no longer fulfill the purposes for which they were developed. But on the practical level, it means that a new regional project, especially one which is not devoted to special education, is at the mercy of the changing politics and trends of the participating Boards of Education and district administrators, who can simply opt out with little cost to themselves -- but much cost to the frail structure of regional collaboration on the project.

The Early Planning Period, Phase I

The P/I Group and Its Metaplan

Following the April, 1974, IASC questionnaire in which 11 out of 14 districts responded with an interest in starting a regional high school program in the arts, Mrs. Jane Sobel of IASC was appointed the planning coordinator. Jane was the main and solo planner from this time until May, 1975 when the planning committee began meeting. It was she who conceptualized and articulated the preliminary vision on the basis of both her own prehistory and experience with regional and alternative education projects; and input from area superintendents and education personnel, local artists and arts teachers, state and private arts organizations, State Department of Education administrators, Board of Education and community members, and community development organizations.

IASC was considered to be the logical organization to coordinate the regional, specialized planning effort, and Jane Sobel's appointment was considered legitimate by the area districts who were active in IASC. Jane herself had a great amount of credibility of her own from participation in past educational change efforts, and this greatly enhanced the formal legitimacy afforded by her appointment. Jane Sobel, through IASC, had "a right" to coordinate the planning of a regional arts high school.

A general "plan for planning" seems to have existed, but since our research project did not come on the scene until February, 1975, we can only comment in retrospect that a rational progression of events and information collection seems to have occurred in this pre-planning year. Judging from Jane Sobel's handling of the later planning sequencing and metaplanning, this assumption appears to be well-founded. What we do know is that Jane collected a large amount of information on existing arts programs, enabling legislation, and relevant state mandates and thrusts in education. She used history well, both her own personal history and the social/political/economic history which related to this planning. She was a builder, and often quoted one of her mentors on the importance of "building on small successes". Her knowledge and expertise derived from 20 years of experience working as an activist for educational quality. She began her activism with the usual vehicles open to citizen participation -- PTAs and Boards of Education and later moved on to professional positions in educational change organizations. A careful, thoughtful planner and leader, Jane Sobel credited her own early education at a private demonstration school run by a university as having provided her with many of the skills a planner would need.

Chronology

Prehistory. Although the immediate history of this planning effort began in April, 1974, a number of earlier events paved the way for Arts Co-op. Some of these acted to grant the planning greater legitimacy, by setting precedents and providing mandates to plan a regional, integrated high school for the arts.

1967: Special Education Law (state law). In addition to requiring that districts provide special services for the handicapped, this law also had a provision for programs for the gifted and talented student. Unlike the handicapped portion of the legislation, the gifted and talented legislation did not require, but instead encouraged districts to start special programs for this population, identified as comprising 3-5% of the school population. Reimbursement by the state of 2/3 of the cost above the regular per pupil cost was made available, and depended on program approval by the State Department of Education (in particular, Dr. Charles (Chuck) Gould, Consultant for the Gifted and Talented). The reimbursement was to be returned to the town's general fund, not the education budget, and would not come back to the towns until the following fiscal year.

This law was the single most important legitimizer and "enabler" for planning a new school in the arts. It was under this legislation that other similar projects - NCA, CAP and the Starr River Project - were begun. Since it was planned that tuition payments from participating districts would finance the school, the reimbursement element in this law was central to the establishment and continuation of the school.

Late 1960s: The Waterton superintendent's plan for the reorganization of the Waterton schools. The then superintendent, Michael Kornbaum, recognizing the tacit north-south dividing line between White and non-White in the city, began building two new middle schools, one on the east side and one on the west side, in an attempt to integrate the Waterton schools by cutting across the existing ethnic boundaries. Only the east side school was built, and became a disaster, considered one of the worst schools in the city. Quickly judged a fiasco by local residents, this did not help the cause of integration.

1968: Project CARE. A study done by the Urban Coalition found a situation of increasing urban/suburban isolation (really a catch phrase for ethnic and economic segregation between the inner city and the suburbs, but integration was too loaded a word to use at that time.) On the basis of the study, a Waterton educational change organization, GROW, run by a good friend of Jane Sobel's, undertook to implement a variety of programs aimed at decreasing this isolation. Jane Sobel was the president of the Harbor View Board of Education at this time and initiated her town's participation in the study and programs. There was tremendous conflict around this throughout the area which coincided with the increasing militance of third world groups.

1971: The planning of an urban/suburban high school. By this time, Jane had gone to work for GROW, and under its auspices, initiated the planning for a regional alternative urban/suburban high school. The planning process, which Jane Sobel felt had been exemplary in its tripartite inclusion of citizens, students, and educators, was abruptly terminated fairly late in the planning because several of the superintendents decided that they would rather not participate; there had been no formal commitments to complete the planning by the participating districts. Many of the basic elements from this plan became part of the planning for Arts Co-op, particularly the regionalization and integration goals and intertown tuition financing.

1971: The development of the Northtown Center for the Arts (NCA) in Northtown. With the participation of 16 districts, including Northtown, UCES, the regional agency in that area, planned and opened a half-time program in the arts. This school, which used the reimbursement provision of the 1967 special education law, was staffed by practicing artists, and became the main model for the Arts Co-op planners. It was the first of a number of similar arts programs planned and administered by the regional agencies, under the auspices of the Gifted and Talented Office of the State Department of Education, and financed through district-paid tuition, reimbursed through the special education legislation.

1974: Development of the Capital Arts Program and Starr River Project. A bit different from the NCA model, CAP featured a one-to-one apprenticeship design. Planning for the Starr River center began just after the Arts Co-op planning was launched. So Arts Co-op was part of a statewide movement to develop half-time regional arts programs devoted to integration and to discovering potential or undeveloped, as well as already manifest, talent.

Early history of Arts Co-op. From April, 1974 until May, 1975, there were a number of events which are part of the direct history of Arts Co-op. Some of these events legitimized the planning, and gave the planners mandates to plan this particular kind of school.

April, 1974: IASC "Needs Assessment" questionnaire. This questionnaire, which laid out numerous possibilities for regional cooperation in education, "was not," by Jane Sobel's own admission, "the greatest needs assessment" ever done. But it nevertheless served to give credence to the notion that there was superintendent-level support for a regional arts program. It became extremely useful to the planners as part of their oral and written history; it was used as part of the story of origins told to newcomers and outsiders, and was often the lead line in written proposals and newspaper articles.

In fact, it is the researcher's hypothesis that the aim of the needs assessment was simply to determine what kind of regional project would be most acceptable. While not to undermine the appropriateness of or need for services for the talented student, the selection of an arts program can be seen as a vehicle, or a kind of back door route, to regionalization, and not simply an end in itself. This was true for a substantial percentage, although not all, of the planners.

October 22, 1974: Information meeting. Coordinated by Jane Sobel and George Richland of IASC, the meeting featured presentations by the Director of NCA and representatives from its administering regional agency, UCES; and by representatives of the State Arts Commission (Margaret Howard Stanley and David Schwartz, later to be members of the Arts Co-op planning committee). The meeting focused on the realities of NCA's experience and the feasibility of starting a similar program with Waterton and its suburbs as the focus.

November, 1974: Concurrent development of the Arts Plaza in Waterton. In the meantime, a group interested in revitalizing the downtown area of Waterton by building an arts center recognized the possibilities of

working jointly with the school planning. Since the town which houses the school facility can be reimbursed for 100% of the construction costs after five years, to include a high school for the arts as one of the components of the arts complex made economic as well as educational sense, and could have substantially offset the building and renovation costs. The Arts Plaza project was chaired by Guy Janacek, a Waterton native involved in the history and preservation of Waterton. His wife, Jean, was also closely involved, and she chaired the Waterton Arts Council and was in charge of the Waterton section of the town library.

November, 1974: Visit to the State Commissioner of Education. When Janacek realized that IASC was about to begin planning for a regional high school in the arts and saw the advantages of linking up the Arts Plaza complex with the school, he called the capitol and made an appointment to meet with the state Commissioner of Education. Jane Sobel was open to the association and went with Janacek to see Carr, who agreed to Janacek's proposal that the planning for the school be carried out jointly and the school ultimately be located in the Arts Plaza complex.

November, 1974 through May, 1975: Resolutions to participate. Following the October information meeting, IASC asked that districts interested in planning such an arts program secure resolutions to that effect from their Boards of Education. Waterton, Bailey, Adams, Warren, Winchester, and Harbor View joined the planning. The Diocese of Waterton was invited to join and did participate, though in a somewhat less active role than the towns.

These resolutions were based on model statements which had been prepared by Jane Sobel and George Richland: they included an endorsement of the concept, the acceptance of an eventual home in the Waterton Arts Plaza, and an understanding of the tuition financing and 2/3 state reimbursement. Some of the Boards qualified their statements, and made a distinction between their endorsement of the concept and an actual commitment to the project. Nevertheless, the resolutions functioned to:

(1) delineate who was to participate in the planning;
(2) create an awareness of the proposed project among the Boards of Education; and
(3) assure participation, at least on the upper administrative levels of the education system.

Most important, they were a formal written commitment to planning a school - some protection against a repeat of the urban/suburban aborted planning attempt.

Again, these resolutions became part of the planner's own history, and were used in conjunction with the needs assessment to introduce and legitimize the project.

February 27, 1975: Meeting of interested superintendents. Sponsored by IASC, this meeting formalized some of the basic assumptions about scheduling, enrollment, staffing, talent, and administration of the

program into a written document. In order to avoid elitism and separation of the talented student population from the regular schools, the program would only be half time, meeting either in the morning or afternoon, with students attending their regular schools the rest of the time. Tuition financing by Boards of Education would be the means of support, as in NCA. The school would be staffed by professional practicing artists, and would be balanced in terms of population (with talent, geography, ethnic background, and male/female ratio to be taken into account). The school would cater to students with "undeveloped", "potential" and "untrained" talent as well as to those with developed proficiency and experience in the arts. A director would be hired well in advance of opening. To be ultimately located in the Waterton Arts Plaza, the program would be administered by IASC. It was also recognized that such a high school would not be able to serve all of Winchester County because of the distance involved, and that eventually a satellite center could be formed serving the southernmost towns.

This meeting and document had a two-fold function for the planning: it defined the structural parameters of the planning; and it built ownership and confidence among the participating superintendents that they would have a major role in shaping the plans. This pattern of meeting with the superintendents about all major decisions before they were made was continued by Jane Sobel throughout the planning period. This was one way to insure that stakeholders were aware of and in agreement with the planning actions, and could be counted on for support, or at least non-interference.

March, 1975: Visit to the Northtown Center for the Arts (NCA). At the initiation of Jane Sobel and IASC, a visit to NCA was arranged. Superintendents, a few Board of Education members, guidance people, arts teachers, and interested artists and citizens attended. The tour did several things for the planning. It demonstrated that regional cooperation was possible and advantageous in this situation. It provided a model to keep in mind during the planning and a set of experiences with which to compare. It served as a creative way to get people thinking - and in Jane Sobel's words, "was a shortcut in providing us with a common vocabulary and background for the development of our own proposal." But it was as much an early support-building effort as a knowledge seeking act; one superintendent had purposely brought along his most resistant Board of Education member to view the successful NCA program.

March - May, 1975: The formation of the planning committee. Following the visit to NCA, the planning committee was established. Politically experienced in forming committees and ensuring representation of important groups and individuals, Jane asked that each of the superintendents appoint a team of representatives from his own district to the planning committee, including high school administrators, guidance personnel, high school art and music supervisors, community artists and interested citizens, and a Board of Education member from each district. With the exception of the last, all other categories were filled by the superintendents' appointees, and by late April, a planning committee had been formed from the five towns. It is not clear why no Board members were ever identified, but their lack of participation had implications later

on when the planning group found that little was known about the proposed high school, and worse, that little support existed among the lay community and the elected Boards of Education. Translated, this meant that when the planners asked for allocations from the Boards to support tuition payments for students, they ran into a dead end. On the positive side, all other constituencies and role groups who would be affected by the proposed school or who were committed to it were directly involved in the planning. And since the top educational decision maker in each town had control of the committee appointments from his/her town, there was no question that each town's delegation had legitimacy, a right to plan, and a right to represent the district.

Key Goals and the Vision

To recapitulate: by the time the planning committee had met for the first time, a general vision of the proposed school was already taking shape. The elements which were pretty much decided included:

a. A half-time program, with sending schools taking care of the academic program
b. A staff of practicing artists
c. Financed by tuition payments from participating Boards of Education
d. Integrated ethnically
e. Population balanced according to town and male/female ratio
f. Would identify and serve both potential and developed talent
g. Administered by IASC
h. Eventually to be located in the Waterton Arts Plaza

Jane Sobel was the person who pulled all these elements together and put them into writing, delimiting and outlining the tasks for the planning committee. It was up to the committee now to plan a live school for live children. This part of the vision, the essence and the spirit of the future social system, was not yet articulated. The striking thing to note is that a number of basic social-architectural features had assumed the status of givens almost before serious planning had begun. How these would work out is another matter -- but the point is that the parameters of the school's concept were fixed early on. The only "goal-like" statements at this point were the commitment to both potential and developed talent and (more latently) to integration.

Analysis and Commentary

Political stabilization. This phase of planning was characterized by the formation of important linkages. Support for a high school in the arts during these early months came from a number of sources. IASC and George Richland provided a supportive context and gave Jane Sobel free rein to develop the school. The State Arts Commission became active fairly early, with two key planning members (Margaret Howard Stanley and David Schwartz) participating in the October, 1974 meeting. The State Department of Education, in particular Chuck Gould, the Consultant for Gifted and Talented, got involved that same fall, and Jane developed a close reporting and consulting relationship with Gould. Black and Hispanic arts groups were also involved at this time. And several of the area superintendents were strongly in favor of the project.

Jane built slowly and carefully. She wrote up minutes of the early information meeting and produced a document summarizing the February superintendent-level decisions. These served to solidify a number of disparate notions into the beginnings of a plan, but more important acted to root the proposed project in the educational, lay, and artistic communities in the area. Forming the planning committee with special attention to representation among towns and interests, and having the superintendents make the town appointments made for a planning group viewed as a legitimate body for planning a new school for the arts.

By the time the planning committee began meeting, Arts Co-op already had a fairly solid base of support from a number of the key stakeholders. It was known that state reimbursement for tuition funding was available, so a means of financing the program existed. The existence of similar arts programs in other parts of the state gave credence to the notion that starting another regional arts school was a sensible idea with a good chance of success.

The mandate to plan a regional high school for the arts came from a number of sources related to the arts and integration. The recognition of special needs among the school population was formalized in the 1967 Special Education law. General concern by the arts community that the arts in this country suffer from insufficient support, especially on the scale of the individual artist, provided the planners with a mandate from the arts community to develop and nurture young artists and to develop an awareness and appreciation of the arts.

White flight, the deterioration of the inner city, and the separation of city from suburbs, rich from poor, and White from non-White became a concern of area residents as well as of the state and federal government; there was pressure to do something about the situation. The tense confrontations of the 1960s had toned down considerably, but there were many in the area who were still resistant to getting the cities and suburbs to work together. Pressure from H.E.W. to properly integrate the Waterton schools had just begun in early 1975. The existence of unequal access to educational opportunity gave the planners a mandate from key constituencies and governmental and educational agencies.

Thus the planners of Arts Co-op began with educational, artistic, and political mandates which gave shape to the direction of the planning and provided the planners with rationales, endorsements, mandates and legitimizers.

Knowledge utilization. Data and information during this period came from meetings and talks with artists, arts organizations, state department people, and area school administrators. Other arts programs around the country were identified, and some information collected about them. The visit to NCA provided a base and model off which to bounce ideas. Enabling legislation was identified. Jane incorporated her own experience with prior planning efforts aimed at regionalization and integration.

Cast of Characters*

Early Planning Period

IASC - Intermediate Area Service Cooperative - the organization responsible for the planning of Arts Co-op

George Richland, Executive Director
Jane Sobel, Director for Program

The Superintendents of the Participating Towns

Anthony Lombardo, Waterton (left 1975)
Geraldine Johnson, Waterton

Jacob Rute, Warren

Rolf Karenski, Winchester (left 1976)
Charles Cocteau, Acting Superintendent, Winchester in 1976
Jack Morrison, Winchester

Kenneth Bowie, Bailey (left 1975)
Gary Wilson, Acting Superintendent and then Superintendent, Bailey

Bob Harkness, Adams

Pat Boeren, Harbor View (left 1977)
June Silver, Acting Superintendent, Harbor View 1977-78

The Planning Committee

Jane Sobel, Coordinator of Planning

From Waterton: Jonathan O'Connor, Assistant Superintendent
Geoffrey Pampas, Director of Green City Alternative High School
Morris Singer, Director of an Arts Program at a middle school in Waterton, Art Teacher
Dotty Carmel, Guidance Counselor

From Warren: Jacob Rute, Superintendent
Dorothy Beloff, Director of Guidance, Warren High School
Dave Cook, Director of Pupil Personnel Services
Rosalie Andrews, Supervisor for Art
Thomas Gianini, Supervisor for Music
Steven Harrison, English Department chairperson, Warren High School

From Winchester: Charles Cocteau, Assistant Superintendent
Jack Carly, local artist
Samuel Wilson, Supervisor for Art, Art teacher

From Bailey: Don Croix, Assistant Headmaster, Bailey High School, and English teacher
Gordon McKinnon, Art teacher

From Adams: Stephen Sullivan, Art teacher

From Harbor View: Abby Zucker, School psychologist
Jake Carlyle, English teacher, Harbor View High School

At-large members: Guy Janacek , Chairman of the Waterton Arts Plaza Planning Project
Jean Janacek, Member, Arts Plaza Project; Chairperson, Waterton Council on the Arts
David Schwartz, Senior Staff Member, Commission on the Arts
Margaret Howard Stanley, Director, Education Department and Theater Games Department, Eastern Players Theater; Member of the Commission on the Arts (appointed by the Governor)
Joan Blackburn, Dancer, Castle Dance Theater

The State Department of Education

Joshua Carr, Commissioner
Charles Gould, State Consultant for the Gifted and Talented

* It should be noted that this is not a complete list and leaves out those who attended only one meeting or who never really participated.

Vision development. As we have noted, the outlines of the plan existed by the time the planning committee met for the first time. The vision did not yet have any details filled in and lacked its essential spirit. Jane Sobel did have a number of ideas about what the school should be like and feel like, based on her 20 years of experience in educational change, but these were not formally articulated at this time. Everything that was agreed upon so far could conceivably be implemented in a coherent fashion. Jane was already worried about how a real community could develop in the school if participants were only there half the day and considered that to be one of the operational problems connected to the existing sketch.

Key Decisions

Most of the key decisions about the school made during this period were formalized in the February 27, 1975 superintendents' meeting (1/2 time program, tuition financed, administered by IASC, housed eventually in the Arts Plaza, staffed by practicing artists, integrated ethnically and geographically, balance of males and females, catering to potential as well as developed talent, serving only a portion of the county). Jane, with agreement from George Richland, made the decision about representation of various stakeholders on the planning committee, and Jane also made the decisions about metaplanning - about what to do next. We turn to this next.

The Early Planning Period, Phase II

Between March and May, 1975, the planning committee was formed; it held its first meeting in May 6, 1975. This planning period covers the time of the committee's deliberations, from May until the hiring of the director in June 1976.

The P/I Group

Who were the planners? As we mentioned earlier, Jane Sobel had written to the participating superintendents requesting that they identify representatives of certain groups to serve on the planning committee. The effects of this strategy were several: (1) to build trust among the superintendents by not usurping their authority over their own districts and at the same time ensuring them important amounts of influence in the planning process; (2) to provide a voice to those groups which in some way might be threatened by the planning (such as arts teachers fearing the loss of their best students); (3) to include a variety of necessary skills and perspectives within the planning group proper; (4) to ensure equitable representation of each participating town; and (5) to guarantee that each town's representatives had the right to plan and speak for their district. In addition to the town delegations, representatives of arts organizations (the State Arts Commission, the Fine Arts Department of the University of Waterton, and the Costello Dance Theater); community organizations (the local arts commission and a community development group); Waterton Economic Development Corporation and the Plaza Arts Center committee; and educational

organizations (the University of Waterton) sat on the planning committee.

The planning group was a large collection of very different kinds of people from very different backgrounds. On this one committee sat superintendents and other central office personnel, art and music teachers and supervisors, English teachers; university arts professors; university administrators; local visual artists, musicians, dancers, actors and actresses, and writers; pupil personnel experts, and interested citizens. In a departure from the earlier planning for the urban-suburban high school, no students were included in the planning group. Jane Sobel was still the main planner and kept fairly central control over the planning.

Typical P/I group processes. The planning committee for Arts Co-op existed for 13 months. There were over 25 people formally listed as members of the committee, although for regular meeting purposes, only about 15 to 20 were usually present. There was, informally, a core group with four continuous members (Jane Sobel, Margaret Howard Stanley, Jacob Rute, and David Schwartz), with several "swing" members who were more central at some times during the planning than at others (for instance, Charles Cocteau, Alice Pirsky and Joan Blackburn). But of the continuous four, all were treated with some deference when they made statements or suggestions relating to the planning. Jane generally consulted with this small group outside of planning meetings, although as individuals, not as a group, and listened carefully to their advice; among them, they were able to speak for both the school district and artist interests and perspectives, and each had fairly dense networks to tap for resources and information.

Yet in spite of the existence of a group of key persons within the larger group, there was no attempt to bulldoze decisions over the others. In fact, the non-competitiveness, cooperation, and inclusiveness within the planning group were striking. These features functioned to admit new and relevant information into the planning, to continually include new people and new planning members and thus extend the support base, and to build a coherent, cohesive philosophy and vision for the school. How did this happen?

Leadership and decision-making. Jane Sobel's leadership was very central to the planning. She was extremely active - managing, coordinating, facilitating, questioning, summarizing. Subcommittees took over pieces of the work, but the delegation of tasks to others almost always included Jane's participation in most of the subcommittee meetings. The network that Jane Sobel was able to mobilize was by far the most complete (in its inclusion of all the relevant spheres) of anyone involved in the planning. Thus, it was not simply her style of leadership which made for the centrality of her role, but her position as the point of intersection of so many different interacting networks.

Jane's leadership experience had been an active sort, never a titular, passive variety. Her participation in education was part of her

overall attitude of citizen responsibility, but dates back to her concern for the education of her own children in the 1950s. From that initial citizen participation activity, she became, as we have noted, the president of the Harbor View Board of Education in 1968. She then went into educational improvement professionally, working first for GROW, and in 1974 came to IASC. Interestingly, despite the intensity of the Project CARE controversy, Jane seemed to have surprisingly few enemies from that period. Several times during the fieldwork Jane would mention that she had crossed paths with someone who had been on the other side in that struggle.

Her credibility was based not only on her professional experience, but on her personal style (softspoken but articulate, gentle, easy, good listener, careful but open). Her language was jargon-free, straightforward and clear. Her managing and organizing skills, and her expertise in understanding education and educational planning stood her in good stead. She often apologized for only having a B.A. degree, but her lack of graduate credentials did not seem to interfere with her credibility among educators and professionals.[6]

Meetings were smoothly run, efficient, "tasky", interesting. Jane opened the meetings (usually on time or a few minutes late) with some summary statements of where they had been when they'd last met, and would then lay out the agenda for the day. Most of the items would have been mentioned in the notes of the previous meeting. The reason for considering those items was explained and Jane controlled the order of business. Typically, she laid out the main questions to be addressed in considering an issue, but committee members felt free to add additional ones. If there were new people present, Jane would summarize the history of the planning effort, apologizing to those who had heard it before. Often repeated, this became ritualized after awhile, but did not lose its connection to reality. As mentioned earlier, the oral history functioned to bridge the entry of new members into the group; to inform those just visiting the planning group and to cultivate and nurture their support; and to aid in the growth of a "linguistic community". (Simon and Levin, 1975) introduced this notion to mean the common language which a group develops to talk to one another and to the outside about what they are doing. Jane Sobel's oral histories were not the only factor in the development of this community, but they were an extremely significant one. As the year went on, written histories for proposals and newspaper articles expanded the oral histories so that by March of 1976, these summaries became more and more codified as a public statement of what the planners were all about. Jane wrote most of these, with feedback and suggestions from others.

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6) The reader may feel that these characteristics of Jane are unrealistically positive, or that she managed to co-opt the field worker's sympathies. In fact, she seemed unusually productive as a planner to us in comparison with those in our other sites. Her very strengths did have accompanying weaknesses. For example, her centrality in the P/I group may have prompted passivity in others at some points.

Meetings, as a rule, ran from 3:00 or 3:15 until 5:00. Aware that many of the committee members had already put in a full day's work at school and that others were taking time away from busy schedules, Jane tried to end the meetings promptly at 5:00, and to run them with as little uncreative floundering as possible. This pattern was established at the first meeting, when Jane commented that she liked to start on time, because it wasn't fair to those who were punctual to delay.

The fact that arbitrary limits could be put on how much the P/I group would do in one meeting or in one day is a fact which distinguishes the planning from the implementation period. Although the planners were working against a deadline, they were still protected and sheltered from pressing realities in a way that the implementers could not be. There were certain tasks which had to be accomplished during the planning, but they were fewer and carried out over longer periods of time than during the implementation. The implementers were to be on the line every day; the planners were not. If a job was not finished at the end of a planning meeting, it could usually be postponed until the next planning meeting. This was not generally the case with the implementers.

Planning meetings had a natural rhythm, partly because the time period of the meetings was clear; meetings began softly and evenly, built in a gradual crescendo and then near the end dropped down a little, as people grew tired and issues saturated. There was little meeting "nudginess" and nervousness, again, partly because of the knowledge that the meeting would not drag on but would either come to resolution or postponement of an issue.

But another, equally important reason for the comfortableness and effectiveness of the meetings was Jane's awareness of and sensitivity to the group process. Following the first meeting of the planning group, Jane Sobel made some observations to the field worker about what had happened during that meeting. In spite of the fact that Jane was in a new role with a new group of people starting a new project, she had been acutely in touch with the dynamics of the interactions and thereby able to guide the meeting productively. The field worker had observed that Jane had allowed long silences in between requests for participation and comment until there was some response from the group. When discussion got going and there was some consensus, Jane made summarizing statements and moved the group on to the next item. Jane was aware that these silences did not necessarily mean boredom or failure but rather were a function of the newness of the group:

> I hate those beginnings of the meeting when nobody says anything, but I'm used to them by now after having been the chairman of the Board of Education in Harbor View for two years.
>
> It's funny, because when you're working in a situation with a minority group or an interest group, it usually takes them about 40 minutes before they trust you enough to realize that you don't, in fact,

have a hidden agenda. This nice middle class group - it took them over an hour to start talking to each other.

Jane had also accurately anticipated what would happen at that first meeting, specifically that they would see some resistance surface from arts teachers worried about losing their most talented students, the joy of their jobs. When this came up, she did not cut off the discussion, and other participants voiced concerns and offered responses and support about those concerns. Jane mostly answered questions and clarified points, but did not insert herself as fighting against those who had some opposition and doubts. Rather she listened and created an atmosphere of listening; it was important that the planners be in touch with the types of resistance they would meet and there was no better place to start than within the planning group itself. The first phase of the planning group was characterized by this resistance-sharing. The key concept is inclusiveness: that doubts and objections were turned from negatives to positives by making it important to the success of the planning that these doubts be recognized and dealt with, not only in relation to the individual planning member but in relation to the constituency he/she represented.

Decision-making by consensus was a natural outcome of this inclusive process. Since a serious attempt was made to hear and confront objections and disagreement, it was possible to have some certainty that there was not a great deal of anger or resistance bubbling below the surface. Consensus can be problematic. Everyone is equal except that there are differences in the prestige and status of individual members which can cause different weight to be given to the opinions of the more powerful members of the group.[7] The planners of Arts Co-op could not afford to disregard any of their members, since each was an important supporter, a link to other supporters, and a representative of interests which could make or break the program.

The group's ability to achieve a consensus where all felt satisfied with the outcome can also be related to the minimizing of status differences which seemed to occur in the group. When asked why there was such a spirit of cooperation within the group and among the participating organizations, Jane Sobel hypothesized that it was because no one planning member had all the expertise necessary to develop a successful arts program, and members realized this interdependency.

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The fluid participation/representatives did cause some dissention around decision-making in December and January of 1975-76. This was not raised publicly at a meeting but Jane heard about the complaint that

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7) In another site, College High School, the P/I group also prided themselves on never taking a vote, but rarely were all members in agreement. More often, the powerful men on the committee made the decision and called it consensus.

sometimes decisions were made without adequate representation from all participating towns. Thereafter, Jane made explicit references to the representation at meetings when decisions came up, and would either postpone decisions or check decisions with non-represented towns before moving ahead.

Decisions were usually considered over a period of weeks or months. An issue would first be mentioned either at a meeting or in the meeting notes. Often subcommittees would be set up; they always had either a finite task or a clear charge.[8] Typically, there would be a discussion, consideration of alternatives, a summary by Jane, and a timing decision (sometimes previously made by Jane) about when a "final" decision would be made or was needed. Jane's position was that no decisions were absolutely final until all decisions had been made, since the whole is often different than the sum of its parts. This served to relax the planners some, and unlike the College High School planners who made, unmade, and remade decisions dozens of times, the Arts Co-op planners changed only a few and only with good reason (e.g. their opening date, securing outside funding, having planning committee members represented on the screening committee - more about these later).

The planning was fairly clearly mapped out, especially from September, 1975 onward. Jane had made decisions about the major planning tasks which needed to be completed, and the level of detail which should go into the plans.[9]

"Timelining" did not seem a large preoccupation. Group decisions about when things would happen were made mostly about specific items rather than about overall timelining; for the most part, Jane Sobel controlled the master timeplan and her clarity about the process made it possible for others not to have to worry about that aspect. Jane's personal qualities contributed to making the progression of activities flow sensibly, efficiently, but without anxiety or floundering. She herself is a calm, centered, and even-breathing person; even when she is in a hurry, one never gets the feeling that she is rushing.

During the last months of the planning, the pace of the planning picked up considerably, without the planners having anticipated that this would be so. This was partly due to the decision to apply for outside funding and the realization that they lacked and had better secure the crucial support they needed from the Boards of Education and the local communities. There was a tremendous amount of uncertainty; they still did not know where the money to support the school would be

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8) Again, this is in contrast to College High School, where subcommittees were a way of pushing off the work and hard decisions from the whole group to pieces of it.

9) In College High School, how detailed or general to make the plan was a source of debate for months and prevented that committee from making the plan.

coming from. Yet the planning group did not flail around in this ambiguous, hardworking, and sometimes grim period; their means of approaching and managing time helped them to accomplish their job with as minimal a diversion of their energies as possible.

Knowledge utilization. The planning was characterized by a tendency to seek and use expert knowledge both from outside and inside the planning committee. Articles and books were exchanged at meetings, and newspaper clippings xeroxed and handed out. Individually, planners attended conferences on the gifted, alternative education, and as a group and as individuals, they visited other arts programs. Jane telephoned the relevant people in the environment to get answers and advice on such questions as certification, identifying talent, governance. Each planning member had a sense of his/her own political environment and this knowledge was, to an extent, pooled in the planning committee so that sensible decisions could be made with that knowledge. Jane herself had an astute sense of the area, the politics of education, and the protocol required for each different situation in each different sphere.

The association with our research project is another example of the group's openness to knowledge. There were no access problems either at the initial interviews with Jane Sobel, Guy and Jean Janacek and Anthony Lombardo, or in the planning meetings proper. The committee was perfectly willing to be tape recorded at its first meeting, and the documentation and "mirroring" of the process was always seen as an asset to the planning. The feedback report from the researcher was widely distributed by Jane Sobel as a way of giving new stakeholders, potential supporters and implementers a history of the planning and bringing them on "board." The documentation was viewed both as a way of reflecting on and recording the history of the planning, and as a symbol of prestige that they had been selected as a site with a good chance of success by a significant educational research project.

The P/I group's openness to knowledge and exploration contributed to another feature of the planning group's process: its creativity. The fact that the group was made up of very different kinds of people, and that a large number were either artists or connected to the arts made it possible, normatively speaking, to depart from standard operating procedures with little difficulty. They were not afraid to rely on their intuition or to talk about relying on their intuition (especially in selecting a director and in identifying talented students). They encouraged creativity in their own decision making just as they hoped to nurture creativity in young artists and in the school.

Openness to a range of expert knowledge also seems to have made it easy for the P/I group to anticipate problems. In two waves of a questionnaire administered by our research project in May, 1975 and January, 1976, the planners accurately predicted that the new school, in its first year of operation, would face problems in:

- funding and financial commitment from Boards of Education

- support for the program, community acceptance of the value of this type of education, proving a need for the school

- transportation

- scheduling

- identifying the talented and gifted student

- staffing and the possibly transient commitment of faculty (artists)

- adequate facilities

- structure, organization, governance, and leadership of the school

- evaluation, both formative and summative

- bringing the diverse elements of the arts together in a manner which best benefits the potentially and apparently gifted.

Our belief is that a P/I group less committed to knowledge utilization would have been a good deal more myopic about what was to come, and consequently less effective.

Chronology

Stages in the formation of the group. The planning group went through several different phases in its time together. The first four meetings, up through the summer of 1975, were quiet, polite, almost to the point of passivity. Members were slowly getting to know one another, and concentrating almost wholly on the internal building of the group, dealing very little with the environment. A new phase set in in Sept. 1975, with the next 3 meetings when the group realized that it was time to begin turning its energies outward as well, garnering support and gaining resources. Within the group, they settled down to accomplishing their planning tasks and members began taking more risks, responsibilities, and action. As a common language developed, members more easily were able to discuss the important issues at hand. But a honeymoon period of positive relationships gave way in December and January to some dissension over how to best get support and resources and how to most equitably make decisions. This tension never got bad enough that those in disagreement ever stopped coming to the meetings or voicing their concerns. With the advent of the selection process for a director in April, the screening committee, composed of both members and non-members of the planning group, temporarily replaced the planning group as the focus of planning activity. In a sense, the planning group proper was excluded from these deliberations, but had built up enough trust in the process which chose the members who were on the screening committee that there

appeared to be little concern about this exclusion. The level of planning activity increased sharply in the latter months of the planning period, and culminated in a down-to-the-wire decision that there would be funding and there would be a director.

The timetable. Jane Sobel had a good idea when she began of what the flow of planning should look like once the planning group was formed. Her overall plan for planning intended that the committee should begin by developing a philosophy and setting goals. The governance structure would have to be settled early on. Criteria and a process for selecting a director had to be developed. Student selection would need to be discussed in an ongoing manner. By fall of 1975, they would have to begin publicizing the program among the Boards of Education and securing commitments for tuitions. A director would be selected in March, 1976 and the school would open in September, 1976. In fact, reality interfered and threw the metaplan somewhat off course.

Activity sequence. The second phase of the Early Planning period covers the time between the formation of the planning group and the culmination of its efforts with the hiring of a director for the school. During this time, the planners developed the philosophy, goals, vision, and a general design for the program. They made decisions about governance and general organization; built a support base in the arts, education, and lay communities; secured material and personnel resources; developed guidelines for identifying and selecting talented students; made provision for continuity between the planning and the implementation; and hired a director. They left the actual design of the school and the details of the program up to the director, developing instead a rough sketch of their vision.

The planning group met 15 times as a full group between May 1975 and June 1976. Their role as the major moving force ended with the formal transfer of power to the new director, David Steinhoff, on June 30, 1976. The major planning tasks and actual course of events (as opposed to the original metaplan) are charted on the following page (Chart 1).

Key Goals and Vision

The starting point for the planning committee's deliberations (on May 6, 1975) was the document from the February 27, 1975 superintendents' meeting - the Basis for Further Planning. This gave the whole planning task a certain clarity, in that it identified in advance the constraints and limits within which the school would operate. With those clear, the planners went on to develop a philosophy and then to develop and clarify goals, which became the basis for further decisions for the "social architectural" decisions about organizational design.

Agreeing on a philosophy for what the school should be and do was the first task undertaken by the planning group. The "Need and Purpose" Statement (Chart 2), developed in June, 1975 by a subcommittee, committed the philosophy to writing and codified it as part of the plan.

Chart 1

P/I GROUP ACTIVITIES, EARLY PLANNING PERIOD, PHASE II

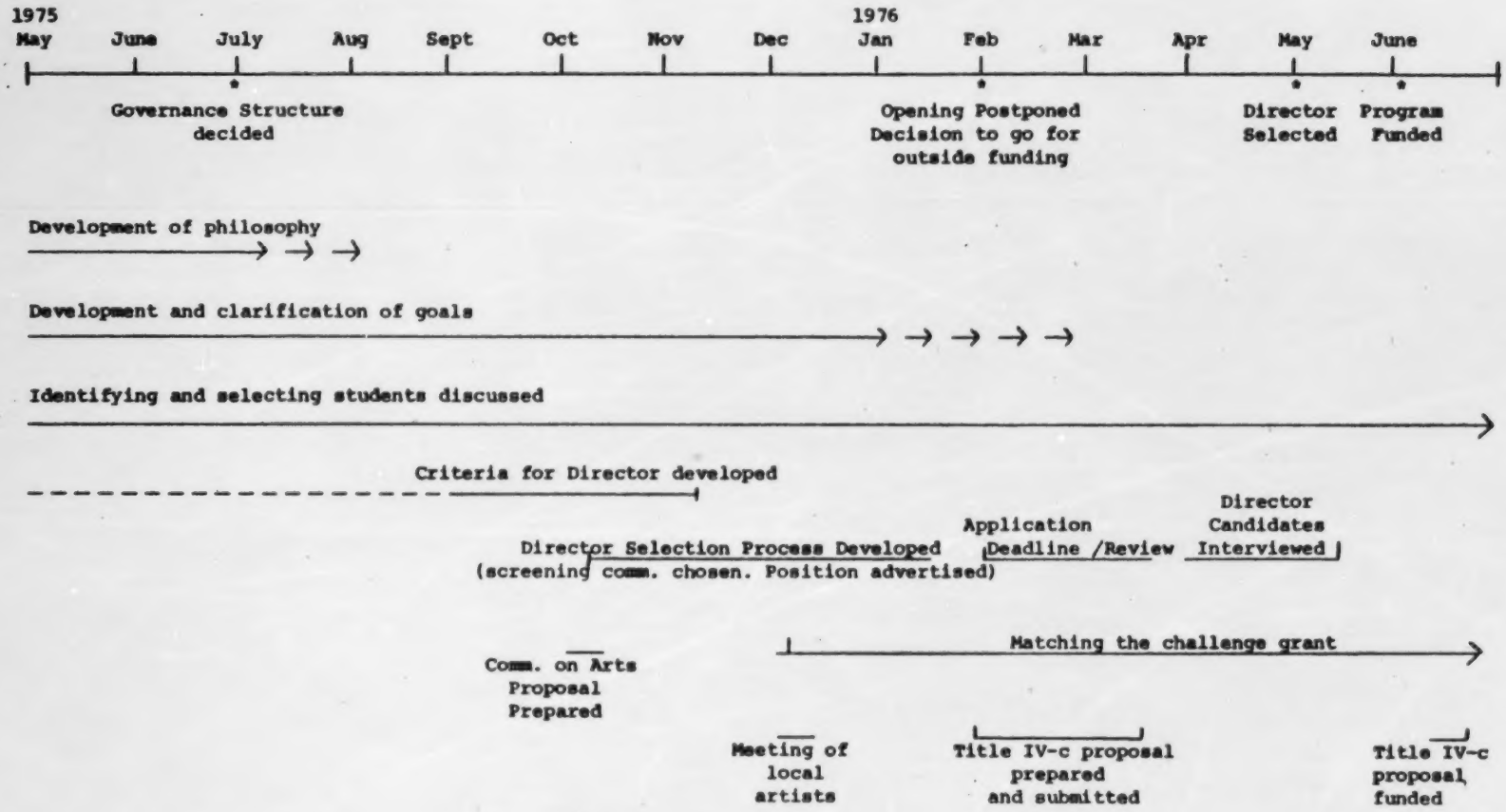

Chart 2

NEED AND PURPOSE

Studies have shown that 3 to 5 per cent of the school population are gifted/talented students who would benefit from specialized programs. When these students are not given opportunities to develop their talents, society - as well as the individual - suffers great loss.

The formal school system does not fully meet the special needs of gifted students, who are often multi-talented. These students need:

- to participate in a setting where program and climate combine to nurture and promote creativity.
- to experience the sense of sharing which comes from association with other talented people who, through their common concern with and participation in the arts, create an arts community.
- to have opportunities for experiential learning.
- to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for the fullest development of their particular talents.
- to enlarge their understanding and artistic horizons through the cross-fertilization of meaningful and continuous contact among many branches of the arts.

Arts Co-op will establish a community where the unique relationship among and between talented youth and talented adults can be fostered to meet the special needs of the gifted/talented student.

This early development and agreement on a philosophy greatly aided the planning group's ability to move forward smoothly, with a commonality of purpose and relatively little serious disagreement about the basic premises of the program. The philosophy was refined throughout the planning period, in response to the need to state to outsiders (funding agencies, the public, the state department of education) why it was important to start a school like Arts Co-op at this time.

Developing and clarifying goals. The planners made explicit four major goals which they hoped the school would accomplish. Goals were initially stated in the first meetings in May, 1975, and continually clarified through January of the following year, by which time the planners were pretty clear about which goals were most important.

The four major goals included:

1) Identifying talented students (including those with both developed and potential talent).

2) Comprising a student population balanced according to geographical distribution, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, arts areas, and sex.

3) Effecting integration, both racial and between the city and the suburbs, around a programmatic base, rather than for its own sake.

4) Developing a community of artists, both within the school and outside.

Let us examine where the pressure for the choice of these particular goals originates and what they really meant.

The goal of identifying talented students was, early on, placed as the first and most critical of the four. The biggest champion of this emphasis was Chuck Gould, the State Department Consultant for the Gifted and Talented. He believed fervently in the existence of highly talented students whose needs were not being met within the confines of the regular education system. When Jane Sobel was attempting to conceptualize how to balance talent identification against other aspects of the program's potential population, Chuck Gould made his feeling quite clear; identifying talent was the first among equals. Gould has subsequently organized conferences and envisions seminars on the experiences and findings of the regional arts programs' methods for locating talent.

An important phrase is "potential" or "undeveloped" talent. Gould had also instructed Jane Sobel not to come to him with "another program for white, affluent kids." Many of the suburban students have had opportunities to develop their talent which the urban and poorer students have not -- money for piano, dance, and arts lessons for example. Undeveloped talent was one way of saying "minority students."*

But, not to be simplistic, the planners also realized that the regular school system could be frustrating and stifling to any creative student - Black, Hispanic, or White; poor or rich; urban or suburban. And although this case study has thus far emphasized the regional issues and not the artistic ones, the planning committee was composed of people committed to both regionalization and to the arts. For many of the planners, some artists themselves, the discovery of talent and the building up of the arts in the area and in the nation were important ends in themselves.

The second goal, that of balance in the student body, relates to regionalization; it was important that no one town feel in control of the project and that there be some equity among the towns in terms of numbers of students. However, differential allocations of tuitions plus different-

*David Steinhoff added in his comments that, "As it turned out, this meant also many urban white ethnics."

sized populations (of which 3-5% were defined as talented) made this goal not an easy one to contemplate or achieve.

The third goal, that of integration, has already been discussed with regard to its implications and relationship to regionalization. That it was designed around a programmatic base and a common interest (participation in the arts) can be seen partly as a result of the recognition that simply putting people together does not make them interact, and partly as a result of Jane Sobel's experience with the earlier Project CARE, in which integration was too sensitive a word to use and the phrase "ending urban/suburban isolation" had to be substituted. Integrating around a common interest in the arts thus can be seen as both a principle of interaction and as a preventive against charges of using children as pawns in a chess game.

Finally, the goal of creating a community of artists was a special vision of people like Margaret Howard Stanley. Herself an accomplished classical actress, director, and teacher, Margaret Stanley was also a state Commissioner on the Arts, appointed to that post by the governor. Respected and revered by all who knew her, this 70-year old woman provided much of the philosophical, conceptual, and creative inspiration for the planning. She felt the isolation of the artist in society, the tendency to look to the large city to the west rather than to local artists. and a desire to insure the perpetuation of the arts in American society, underscored the need to build a community of artists outside the school. This was also a goal of Guy Janacek, whose Waterton Center for the Arts was envisioned as a focal point for the local and larger artistic communities, and as a means of revitalizing downtown Waterton. Creating a community within the school was part of the vision of the desired social system for the program; it was to be "a place where students would like to be," a humane and supportive atmosphere conducive to developing creativity and allowing for experimentation, a comfortable setting for differentness and imagination to expand. Part of this vision, articulated most cogently by Margaret Howard Stanley, centered on an interdisciplinary approach to the arts, one that would emphasize the interconnectedness and interdependence of all art forms. Operationally, this would mean interaction among the students within the school and among their separate arts areas. It was seen as a way of breaking down traditional divisions and building socioemotional ties among the young and adult artists in the program.

In two waves of a checklist goals questionnaire administered by the researcher, it is notable that planning members added the following goals as important to the implementation of the program:

> To be a place of individual innovation and excellence - exploring frontiers.
>
> To give participants an opportunity to interact with professionals.

To give participants an opportunity to interact with gifted and talented peers.

To provide interaction in the arts so that students get the greatest possible exposure to all disciplines - before specialization or even while concentrating in one art.

To give participants an opportunity to feel at home in an arts/gifted environment.

To provide for genuine student decision-making; student commitments and responsibility.

To stimulate creativity, to cross-fertilize the various arts, and to expand horizons.

Dealing with the Environment

The P/I group, as always, had two general classes of design work in front of it. It needed to plan structures and mechanisms that would relate Arts Co-op effectively to its environment. And it needed to consider the internal aspects of the school. First we turn to environmental issues: by what mechanisms would the school be governed, financed, and supported by its constituencies? We examine the P/I group's decisions, and how they arrived at them. The discussion looks at each of several "strands" in turn, following it through the entire Phase II period before returning to the start for another strand. Chart 1 on p. 38 may be useful in providing perspective.

The governance structure. On July 16, 1975, Jane Sobel convened the superintendents of the participating towns to decide how the arts program would be governed. Present at that meeting were:

- Anthony Lombardo, the Interim Superintendent of Waterton and initially the strongest supporter among the superintendents. He had a strong belief in regionalization and in the urban/suburban integration notion, and can be characterized as an innovative, forceful, and compassionate man.*

- Kenneth Bowie, the Superintendent of Bailey and also an important supporter. Like Lombardo, Bowie was an articulate innovator and supporter of regionalization, willing to take risks and experiment.*

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* As it turned out, Lombardo left the superintendency not long afterward, as did Bowie. This meant setbacks for the planning, and made getting tuition from the Boards more difficult, as we shall see.

- Charles Cocteau, the Assistant Superintendent of Winchester, who began as a quiet and possibly somewhat resistant member of the planning effort but later emerged as part of the core group and one of the most active planners.

- Joe Harner, who was the representative of the Harbor View Superintendent, Pat Boeren, and who only ever participated in this one meeting. Boeren himself came to subsequent meetings of the superintendents, and while Harbor View often seemed to straddle the fence about the arts program, Boeren was a friend of Jane Sobel's from her involvement in Harbor View educational politics and action, and basically a supporter.

Neither Adams nor Warren was represented at this meeting, but Jane was in close touch with both superintendents:

- Rob Harkness, the Superintendent of Adams, had made it clear early in the planning that he would support the effort as long as Jane was associated with it. Harkness came from an old family who had been in the area for generations, and was active and influential in community affairs. Boyish looking, but very skillful as a political strategizer, Harkness often kept the planners (and later implementers) guessing about where he really stood.

- Jacob Rute, the carefully spoken, gentle, and positive Superintendent of Warren, was a longtime advocate of regionalization and the development of the arts. Rute had taught, been a principal, and assistant superintendent in previous positions in Waterton, Warren, and other towns in the state. He had worked with Jane Sobel on a number of projects.

Jane had called the meeting primarily because Anthony Lombardo had been concerned about districts who were not participating in the arts program (but who were part of IASC), making decisions about the arts program. Realizing that there was a good deal of vagueness about how the proposed school would fit into the complex set of interdistrict and inter-organizational relationships, Jane called this meeting of the towns' top educational decision-makers to examine the issue. She assured them that the only decision which had been made on governance so far were that a) there would be a director of the school and b) that IASC would be the administering body.

As the discussion progressed, it appeared that IASC would also have to be responsible for budget and staffing, or, in Tony Lombardo's words, "everything." At one point it was proposed that there be a separate board for the arts program, made up only of representatives of the participating districts.

But, while IASC had had some problems with the area towns and did not have a great deal of credibility as an efficient organization, it was nevertheless viewed as a supportive agency which would certainly not interfere administratively with the proposed program. It was expected that Jane Sobel would continue to represent IASC, and she had a great deal of credibility with the area educators. In fact she was able to create such an atmosphere of trust and accomplishment in this July meeting that the superintendents, led by Anthony Lombardo, backed off from their initial stance of worrying about districts which were members of IASC but not of the arts program planning making decisions about the arts program. They decided instead to proceed in good faith that these "non-participating" IASC member towns would not try to force their will on the future Arts Co-op. Paradoxically, this trusting decision, which was the basis for developing the governance structure, would come back to haunt the school in the implementation period.

The formal governance structure which emerged from the July 16, 1975 meeting placed the Director of the school directly under an Administrative Council composed of representatives of all the participating towns plus the IASC Executive Director, ex-officio. This was intended to insure that the involved towns would actually set policy and oversee the operation of the school. This Administrative Council would formally come under the IASC Executive Committee (the policy making body made up of the superintendents of all IASC towns), which was under the IASC Representative Council (composed of the presidents of all the Boards of Education of towns in IASC). An Advisory Committee, not in any line relationship between the Director and the Administrative Council, would offer help and suggestions to the Director.

As it turned out, what was <u>not</u> spelled out in the formal structure caused a multitude of problems later on. When this meeting was held, Dr. George Richland was the Executive Director of IASC. Although Richland had had some difficulty in the position and was not a very good manager, he cared very much about educational change and improving children's lives. His style was considered laissez-faire to a fault. For the arts program, this was no problem, since Jane's competent leadership took care of most needs.

But by the time that Arts Co-op opened, there had been a change in the administration and organization of IASC. Richland was out and so was Jane Sobel. And of the superintendents who had been in power at the time this governance structure was designed, three had been replaced (Lombardo of Waterton, Bowie of Bailey, and Karenski of Winchester). Thus, the intent underlying these governance decisions could be easily challenged. Whereas the relationship between the arts program and IASC had been envisioned as one of autonomy, support, and trust between the umbrella organization (IASC) and the specialized school staffed by experts and overseen by those whose interests were most directly affected, the new administration of IASC reinterpreted that relationship. It became one instead of heavy supervision, interference, and distrust, with an almost powerless Administrative Council. How this happened will be discussed in a later section, but the important issue for us here is

that the superintendents' failure to spell out the intent of the relationships or to provide more safeguards for insuring that the structure would be observed completely undercut the structure as envisioned by the planners, created uncomfortable tensions and serious conflict between the Arts Co-op and IASC directors, and threatened the survival of the school.*

So at this stage of planning, getting the participating towns to agree and work together was not the problem; the regional cooperation which made the development of a governance structure a comfortable rather than conflictual process was as much due to Jane's tactic - that the superintendents should meet first to consider the governance issue - as it was to her agility in managing a careful meeting, insuring all points were heard and considered. The trusting atmosphere of the meeting may have backfired in that the very worries that Lombardo expressed (about non-participating towns making decisions about Arts Co-op, about IASC's control of budget and staffing, and of the possible need for a governing board not in a line relationship to the IASC Representative Council), turned out to be the biggest points of conflict in the first year of operation of the new school.

Financing arrangements. When the planning began, it was thought that the school would be supported completely by tuition payments from the sending towns. It was not until the fall of 1975 that the planning group began to seriously contemplate what this entailed; budgets for the 1976-77 school year were being drawn up and it was clear that the planners would have to convince the Boards of Education of the need for a regional school for the arts. But most of the planners' efforts up to that point had been directed inward, at developing philosophy, goals, vision, criteria for a director, and a governance structure. Little contact with the Boards of Education had taken place beyond occasional brief progress reports.

1975 was the year of the fiscal crunch for many cities. The unemployment rate in the state was somewhere around 15%, (not including the chronically unemployed). All budgets were being cut. Teachers were laid off and class size increased. The art program in the elementary schools in Adams was eliminated. Art and music classes in Waterton were severely curtailed, as were most services like guidance. The wealthy towns had less; the poorer towns struggled; and the inner cities faced disaster in their educational and municipal systems. It was not a year conducive to experimentation, regionalization, and specialized needs.

By February, 1976, it had become clear that sufficient allocations from the participating Boards of Education would not be forthcoming. The budget line had been cut from the Bailey, Harbor View, and Winchester

* It should be noted that the planners reviewed the structure at NCA and UCES, neither of whom had experienced any difficulty either in the relationship between the arts program and the regional agency or between the participating and non-participating towns in UCES. Had there been any problems with the governance of NCA, the planners for Arts Co-op most likely would have foreseen the implications for their own structure, as they did with other problems of the NCA model.

budgets, and while the Waterton Board had made allowance for 10 students, it was anticipated that the budget would face overall cuts by the Board of Taxation. Warren seemed certain to provide for 10 students, and Adams was still an unknown. Since Jane had anticipated that the school would need 50-60 students to break even, the planners realized that they would have to seek alternate funds if the school was to open.

We can hypothesize several reasons for the failure of the planners to win financial commitments from the Boards of Education. The planners may not have been proactive enough in contacting the Boards, informing them about the school and making a strong case for its inclusion in the budget. Certainly, some members of the planning committee complained that Board commitments were not being actively enough sought, and there was too much going on behind the scenes (with superintendents of some districts hoping to quietly slip in the expenditures without raising too much opposition). But even if the planners had been more vigilant, the inflation, declining enrollment, increased school costs, and the general fiscal stringency of this period may have defeated them anyway, given the not atypical view that the arts are expendable when money is tight.

As if the economic issues were not enough, resistance at the Board level might well have been due to opposition to integration, regionalization, innovation, or to IASC staff itself. So though greater Board involvement might have helped, that is far from certain.

At this point two important decisions were made. The alternatives were grim: either go for outside funding or put the project on hold for the present. In her usual fashion, Jane called on the superintendents first to discuss the possibility of major changes in the planning: a) applying for outside funding; and b) postponing the opening date. The planners had agreed at the outset that outside funding was not the desirable way to finance the school, but given the situation, the superintendents and planning committee agreed to try for Title IV-c monies, the legislation which had replaced the Title III innovative programs act. Jane had initially considered these monies as a kind of ace-in-the-hole, just in case, but it now appeared that Title IV-c was the school's only hope for implementation.

It was also decided at that same February, 1976 meeting to postpone Arts Co-op's opening date until the following February. This decision was made in connection with the concerns about financing. Earlier it had been planned that a director would be hired in March, and then plan until September. This new decision put the pre-operational period off until September. That way, a director could be hired as scheduled, told about the funding uncertainty, and assurances about funding secured by the July before the September when the director would formally begin work. But the planners did not foresee that this decision would have unanticipated consequences related to opening midway through the year. The main problem would have to do with the rhythm of development of the newly opened school; since it had only one semester in its opening year, it had half as long to prove itself before it came under scrutiny.

A promise of matching funds for the preoperational period had conditionally been secured from the State Arts Commission back in December, 1975. Jane Sobel had written the proposal over the weekend in time for a Monday deadline, and hand-delivered it to the capital. The Commission (possibly because Margaret Howard Stanley was a Commission member and David Schwartz a staff member) showed a consistent willingness to truly facilitate the planning in the most helpful way possible. In awarding the arts program (through IASC) a $5,000 matching grant to be matched 2:1, the director of the Arts Commission Foundation stipulated that the grant must be matched within a reasonable and agreed-upon period, and that no funds would be forthcoming until all matching monies were assured. (In fact, both of these demands were considerably relaxed, and the Commission actually sent the planning committee the check for $5,000 to deposit in the bank, and whatever money was matched 2:1 by the start of the preoperational period would be available even if the remainder had not been matched.) The Commission went along with the postponement of opening, understanding the rationale and making it clear that they were acting in the best interests of the planning. It was not easy to get matching funds, and the planning committee called on businesses, banks, local organizations, and influential and wealthy individuals. They brainstormed ways to make money through benefits and shows. And Jane Sobel, in a May, 1976 meeting of the superintendents called to develop contingency plans in the event of denial (or acceptance) of the Title IV-c funding request, got them to agree that if the grant did come through, each superintendent would ask his/her Board of Education to allocate $1,000 toward matching the State Commission grant.

In preparing the Title IV-c grant proposal, Jane had admitted her inexperience and sought help and suggestions from knowledgeable grantsmen. She took a ten week course in grantsmanship at a nearby community college. She spent several hours with the director of the local Greater Waterton Foundation. Cognizant of the intense competition and the relatively limited allocation available, Jane tried to cut costs as much as possible. Unfortunately, this cost-cutting, combined with her newness at budget development for such a program, led to the exclusion of some important items (such as a line for "equipment") and serious underbudgeting (such as only $900 allotted for art supplies for the first year of a new arts school). The tight money situation during the first year was to have an impact on aspects of the social organization of the school, especially the relationship of the director to his staff.

The Title IV-c grant application was submitted on March 15, 1976. The prospects were not promising -- there was not that much money available and the planners were asking for $59,000. They would not know the results until June. This was an uncertain time for the planners, but it did not deter the group from forging ahead, completing the remaining planning tasks, screening and hiring a director, and beginning a publicity campaign in the local community.

The superintendents had also agreed at the May, 1976 contingency meeting that if the funding did not come through, they would make a joint public statement that the project was merely being postponed, not discontinued, and that in the event of postponement, no one town would try to develop the school as a single-district project.[10]

By early June, the director screening committee had made its selection but was keeping it under wraps until word on funding had been received. On June 17, 1976, the planners were officially notified that they had been awarded a Title IV-c grant. Arts Co-op would open!

To summarize the financing issues briefly: the original plan to finance the school through tuition from participating districts made the whole enterprise quite fragile, and vulnerable to negative decisions by local Boards. With the rising costs and declining resources in education, Boards of Education had become increasingly wary of projects which were untested, untried, and unproven. So many programs were mandated by law that a large proportion of district dollars was already diverted into special concerns; an arts program, which was encouraged but not mandated, could therefore be seen as expendable. Concern with declining basic skills led to a deemphasis of other areas of learning. An anti-1960s experimentation/innovation attitude among parents, community, and school people made it difficult for programs which were different or had an innovative intent to gain acceptance. Combined with the conflict around regionalization, integration, and financing which we discussed earlier, these conditions brought into serious question whether Boards would be willing to allocate money for Arts Co-op. The planners had proceeded in good faith that they would.

But although presentations were made to the Boards, the arts program planners did not lobby them seriously. When towns began cutting the arts program line from their budgets that winter of 1976, the planners felt they were forced to turn to outside funding. In effect, the nature of the enterprise changed from decreasing fragility to periodic uncertainty. With town financing, the project would face yearly

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10) This agreement resulted directly from a series of articles published in the Waterton News in March, which had lambasted the lack of financial commitment from the participating towns' Boards of Education, and made derogatory remarks about the typical nature of the area's rejection of regional projects. One editorial also proposed that if the regional commitment did not come through, Waterton should take over the plan and implement the school itself. This caused an angry reaction on the part of the planning group and the participating superintendents. Rather than call more attention to it, Jane and the superintendents decided to telephone in a correcting statement to the editor of the News, for the record but not for publication in the newspaper.

allocation struggles, though success would mean an easier time as the years wore on. With outside funding, the start might be more stable, but there would be a high risk of termination after two or three years.

Gaining support and endorsement. Given the dependence of the arts program on the continued support of a number of sources, the job of developing a constituency in the environment was a steady focus of the planners. Jane Sobel established a pattern of sending all meeting notes and important communications to various stakeholders in the state department of education as well as others in the educational, artistic, and lay communities. The formation of the planning committee with attention to representation was, in part, a support-seeking device.

The planning committee itself did not begin to take direct action about gaining support until the fall of 1975. Presentations to the participating Boards of Education, on whom the program would depend for financial support, were made by planning committee members beginning in October, and Jane Sobel asked the committee to keep the Boards apprised of planning progress and to keep the planning committee in touch with any criticisms, resistance, or suggestions which surfaced in the Boards.

The recruitment of area artists (as advisors, potential staff) was a concern from the advent of the planning. Following a small but insightful meeting with several artists in November, the planning committee tapped its network and held a meeting to which 20 artists came on December 3, 1975. The planners shared their ideas, got suggestions, and followed up the meeting with a questionnaire to determine their interest in participating as consultants, advisors, and teachers. The meeting was held at the University of Waterton and organized by a music professor there, Milton Ziegler, who was also a member of the planning committee. A year later, Milton would become the main music staff person at Arts Co-op, and another artist who attended that night, J.R. Morello, would become the creative writing faculty member.

One problem in building a constituency which really represented all the interests important to this venture was that the planners had no easy entry into the Black and Hispanic inner city communities. This was brought up at a meeting in December, 1975, and Jane noted in the notes that "in response to concerns about involving the inner-city populations, it was suggested that the committee invite representatives of ethnic and national art groups to a presentation and discussion of the program."

With the award of the Arts Commission matching grant in December, the planning group launched into a campaign to raise money and spread the word about the school. Jane and others talked with bankers, businesspeople, and potential contributors from the community. Joan Blackburn and Alice Pirsky organized a community involvement committee. They put together a slide show for making presentations to constituency groups. They involved a former Junior League president, Carol Hunter; near the end of the Early Planning Period, she took over the committee. It then developed into the "Friends of Arts Co-op," a support organization for the program.

There was some feeling, however, among planning committee members that community support, like Board support, should have been sought and developed much sooner than it was, and that this weakness led to the planners' decisions to postpone opening and seek outside funding.

The Organizational Design

The P/I group also needed to devote attention to the internal workings of Arts Co-op. They hesitated to place more organizational constraints on a future director than had already been specified, and so gave minimal attention to the program's outlines. They were, however, naturally preoccupied with who would come to the school, and perhaps most of all, who would direct it.

Overall program structure. The planners decided early that they would include five art areas in the school: visual arts, music, drama, dance, and creative writing. The school would have an interdisciplinary approach to the arts, implying that some sort of interaction across areas should occur.

One of the "givens" was that Arts Co-op should not replicate or duplicate what was already offered in the sending schools. Thus some art areas were under some pressure to be "different" or special (visual arts, music and creative writing); others (dance and drama) were less typically offered in the existing schools and thus had more latitude.

Staffed by practicing artists, the program would meet from 1-3 every afternoon; sending schools would reschedule their students to make this possible. Until the Arts Plaza complex was finished, the school would be housed in a temporary facility on the University of Waterton campus.

Identifying and selecting students. The problem of how to locate highly talented students whose talent may or may not have been discovered and developed was a very complex one, with no sure answers. It was central to the planners' task, since the dominant goals of identifying and nurturing creativity, talent, and integration ("don't bring me another program for white affluent kids"), were dependent on finding students who may not have had the resources for training. The planners considered using standardized creativity testing methods, but gave it a "lukewarm endorsement," in Jane Sobel's words. The state favored tests, and Jane always said that they were open to it to make sure they had spread the net wide enough. But the big concerns with testing were that it might not ferret out talent that wasn't completely obvious, and was too limited an assessment method.

As a starting point, the planners considered NCA's procedures and philosophy toward student selection. Margaret Howard Stanley, who had been integrally involved in the original student selection process at NCA, had many ideas on the subject which she shared with the planning group. It was primarily her proposals which became the outline for a selection process which would include:

- nomination either by the student him/herself, by peers, by people within the school, by people within the community

- the equivalent of a portfolio or some piece of work

- direct personality interviews

- an audition

The planners recognized that spotting the highly talented students would be an intuitive process in many ways. Said Margaret Howard Stanley:

> People who have seen many kids, who have been through this process as I have, do develop a sixth sense. You also get to be able to recognize the talented kid with great power who holds back. So much of this has to do with getting experience in identifying power.

She also pointed out that "We have to initiate a provocative search especially for the kid who doesn't know he has talent." But she also told of an experience with a student who was not trained but knew he had talent:

> One boy came with a horn under his arm and he said, 'I can't read music, I can't read a note, but I sure can blow a horn', and he sure could.

Because the committee was committed to identifying potential as well as developed talent, this issue got steady attention. Alternatives were explored and new information sought quite continuously. One of the singers who attended the artists meeting of December 3 suggested that it would be easier and less risky to begin the school with already recognized talent, but the identification of the potentially talented was pinpointed as early as 1974 as an important thrust of the program.

And in relation to the integration issue, David Schwartz warned that without intending to, a planning committee whose reference group is the "establishment" could, by virtue of lack of entry points into the inner city community, end up with a racist structure and an unintentionally discriminatory selection process.

The committee responded to this by discussing ways of attaining entry and contacting inner city youth, including solidifying contacts with the various Waterton community development agencies and arts organizations.

The planners also took up the issue of how to deal with the Planning and Placement Teams in each town, which had to okay any student's being placed in a special program. Since the PPT's usually sat on special education cases, the planners noted that either there would need to be a special PPT for the gifted and talented, or a different set of considerations. It was unclear at this time whether Arts Co-op or the PPTs would do the initial recruitment and the final selection.

The process for identification was only outlined, but the philosophy, attitudes, and concerns of the planning committee were spelled out. The details of the process were up to the director.

Selecting a director. The planning group realized that all its careful work and plans could be for naught if they did not find the right person to run the new arts program. Consequently, discussion of the person they might want for the director began at the very first meeting of the planning group in May, 1975. Criteria were developed through the early fall and a job description was put together during the fall and winter of 1975-76. The position was advertised in December through February, and applications were received through February. A Screening Committee was constituted by March, 1976, and initially, 3 members-- Jacob Rute, Allen Rosen, and Charles Cocteau-- reviewed the applications in March and April, narrowing the field from 30+ applicants to seven finalists. These seven were then interviewed by the Screening Commitee in April and a decision was made in May. Formal announcement of the choice for the new director was made in June, 1976.

In developing the criteria, planning members made it clear that they were looking for a whole, real person, not just someone who looked good on paper. They were committed to finding someone with real concern for kids, familiarity with the education of gifted youngsters, interest and proficiency in an art area, and administrative and organizational abilities to deal with a complicated set of interorganizational and environmental relationships. In addition, they wanted someone who was flexible, innovative, creative, and articulate. And while a certain number of years of supervisory experience was deemed important, they revised their formal qualifications downward from eight to three years so as not to eliminate potentially promising applicants.[11]

The development of the criteria and the job description served to clarify and shape the vision and goals of the plans, since the planners were forced to consider what a person in that position would really need in terms of skills, abilities, and personality qualities. After having discussed this phantom person for the better part of a year, they had a pretty clear idea of the kind of person they wanted for the job, but it was as much an intuitive shared feeling as a set of on-paper requirements.

The screening and interview process was designed by a subcommittee of the planning group, which produced a color-coded booklet containing a job description, notice of vacancy, application, interview format, a set of hypothetical situations a director might encounter, and a list of possible questions for the screening committee to ask of the candidate. The questions asked for the candidate's thoughts on program, staffing, evaluation, and environmental relationships. For example,

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11) Eight years of administrative experience is the norm for principalship in most of the area districts; the planners, including those who were closely involved with standard personnel decisions in their own districts, admitted the uniqueness of this position and program and decided it was logical here to depart from standard operating procedure.

- If you were appointed to this position, what underlying philosophy would you promote?

- How would you proceed to enlist community support, both political and financial?

- What means of staff selection would you employ?

- What function would you expect staff and students to play in decision-making?

The case studies of hypothetical situations turned out to be fairly accurate predictions of dilemmas of implementation. One salient example asked the candidate:

> Assume that one community is sending more students than you can accommodate. They are all good, they have a sincere desire to become part of the school, but you have no room for all of them. How would you go about making the selection? Whom would you consult?

Candidates, upon arriving, were given a booklet containing the format, questions, and cases, and a half hour to read and prepare for the interview while the Screening Committee assembled and had some informal time together.

The Screening Committee, composed both of planning group members and outsiders, was constituted according to Jane's normal formula of representation of stakeholders, interests, and skills. Acting on suggestions gained from the planning group and other advisors, Jane put together the screening group:

> A superintendent (Jacob Rute of Warren, planning group member who chaired the criteria development for the director)
>
> A representative from the arts (Edward O'Connor, a local visual artist involved with the Waterton Center for the Arts)
>
> A representative from a department of the performing arts at the university level (Art Horsted, from the local community college)
>
> A high school principal (Alfred Artesio, principal of a Winchester high school, and himself a musician whose son had attended the North Carolina School for the Arts, a secondary model for this project)

A high school teacher (Allen Rosen, an English teacher at a high school in Harbor View)

A guidance person (Carolyn Tate, the head of guidance at a high school in Waterton) and the only Black member

A student identified by a high school as having artistic abilities and an awareness of the needs of such a program (Denise Darneau, a senior from Waterton)

A person with expertise in personnel (Charles Cocteau, who as the Assistant Superintendent of Winchester had been heavily involved in personnel work and had chaired the subcommittee which developed this process. Charles chaired the deliberations of the Screening Committee)

A lay person to be chosen at large (Margaret Howard Stanley. This is an example of Jane's "loading" of the committee; she wanted Margaret Howard Stanley's participation both for her expertise and experience with the arts and the startup of other similar arts programs; and her incisive and insightful intuition about people.)

An IASC representative, ex-officio (Jane Sobel)

Of these nine, four were members of the planning group (including the non-voting Jane Sobel). At least four of the six participating districts were represented. Of the six men and three women, one was Black and the rest were White.

Not everyone on the committee knew each other before the start of the interviews. Jane had not met some members before, and knew others only peripherally. They did not get together for a get-acquainted session prior to starting the interviews. Yet Jane Sobel said that they became a group faster than any she had ever observed in her years of experience. And Charles Cocteau said, "there was a chemistry that just worked." Undoubtedly, the carefully thought-out selection process and clear leadership in screening and interviews under Charles Cocteau contributed to the successful meshing of the group. The structured format, which Jane Sobel had privately worried might be too rigid, served to focus and relax both candidates and interviewers by reducing uncertainty. Most interesting , the committee got a clear picture of what the planners wanted the school to be, and this clarity produced a commonality of purpose in the task.

Of the first six candidates who were interviewed, only one was considered by the committee to be potential director material. All had been well-received, but were "not right for the total range." Applicants were from the local area*, Northtown, and the large city to the west. The planners had agreed that if none was judged to be the right person for the job, the selection process would begin again.

The seventh and last interviewee was David Steinhoff, a 32-year old writer, photographer, and theater person, then living in New York. Dark, wiry, and intense, David came across as definite, thoughtful, articulate, and full of ideas. He seemed to understand the nature of the vision and anticipated the areas of stress in the plan. The screening committee liked him immediately, and excitement filled the air in the discussion following the interview. Jane Sobel tried to keep her comments to a minimum, stating in the interest of fairness that she had known David previously from joint work they had done with his current boss. The field was narrowed to David and one other candidate, a staff member from another of the state's regional arts programs. Prior to the decision meeting, Charles collected recommendations on the two finalists, and Jane shared their resumes with Chuck Gould in the State Department of Education to make certain that either, if chosen, would be acceptable to the man who would grant or deny program approval and accreditation.

The screening committee met for the last time on May 5, 1976, to select the first director for the High School Arts Cooperative. The atmosphere was warm and alive, full of friendship and camaraderie. There was a feeling that the group had done its job well and was pleased with itself. And now they were at the final point, the one that really mattered.

At least some of the members had already made up their minds. Charles Cocteau, who had spent the week locating references on the finalists, entered the meeting room saying, "Well, I think we've got our man." After considering the recommendations (and getting more information by phone call on one candidate at the request of Denise, the student member), the screeners informally selected David Steinhoff to be the first director of Arts Co-op. Recommendations had emphasized David's "sensitivity to youth" and had said that David was "a different kind of administrator"; "a sound person, deeply involved no matter what he gets into"; "very competent, brings projects through to the end"; "gets along well with staff, has good rapport with students"; and "has the patience of Job." A formal poll of the screening committee in a written communication made the decision unanimous and official. The early planning period was about to come to an end and a new director would begin work.

David Steinhoff's early vision for the school. What did the screening committee see in David that made them decide that he was the person to implement the plan that had been so carefully designed? How were David's goals congruent with the goals of the planners?

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* As Jane Sobel noted in her comments on the case,
The Screening Committee interviewed all applicants from IASC's member school districts as a "political" (or diplomatic) safeguard.

At the beginning of his interview, David was asked how he saw the school. He replied:

> I have three priorities. One would be to establish a relationship with the sending schools. Sending schools have to see us as necessary, needed, and we would have to develop the terms of how we are needed.
>
> A second priority is to establish a high quality staff. I assume that they don't have to be certified staff, although I've been doing a lot of visiting lately and often licensed teachers teach as well as artists. There has to be a mix. This would enable us to have some crazies on the staff.
>
> The third priority would be to have a program where
> 1) kids have a sense in watching other kids that their peers are exceeding their expectations. Art assumes a greater importance when kids see other kids as moving and strong, building their self-esteem,
> 2) there is a sense of community within the program. I see this as problematic, because of the transient nature of the school. I have been trying to think about it structurally.

David expanded on these goals in an interview with the researcher in June, following his acceptance of the position, but prior to his introduction to the full planning committee. He said then:

> I would like kids to really be able to develop their own capabilities and stretch themselves. I want them to be able to shake off their common sense notions about what's good and usual and possible. For that, I really want to leave room on the staff for some nutty people.
>
> I would like the school to provide special expertise in the arts. That means having people who can do that.
>
> I would like it to be a place where kids like to be.
>
> I would like to have significant things for adults as well as for kids to do. One reason is so that the kids don't relate to the adults only as teachers but as people who do something that they would like to do.

> And I would like there to be a community, although I'm always uncomfortable with the word "community", because I take it very seriously. I don't think you can just have a community. I think it takes an awful lot and a long time to develop. But what I mean is, I want it to be the kind of place where people feel supported, where they can really make an investment. I think it's very hard to do this, especially with this kind of part time program.

David was clearly committed to goals to which the planners had always given high priority: a staff of high quality professionals (and the mix of licensed and non-licensed teachers had been recommended by Chuck Gould as a useful political move in relation to the teachers' associations and State Department Office of Certification); the regional component and the necessity of developing linkages with the sending schools; a place where students would look to and be inspired by their talented peers; an atmosphere of creativity and a community which supported both children and adults.

David's view of the goal of integration grew out of an earlier experience with founding a community high school in California; he felt that having a substantial proportion of minority students (at least 25%) in the program was necessary in order for them to feel comfortable and non-isolated and to have some power as a group within the larger organization. David was also able to place the integration goal within the context of a school for the arts:

> I would like to see kids from all different backgrounds mixing. I think the arts is one of the best media for doing this.
>
> To me, the arts grow out of one's social setting. If a kid is middle class, he'll probably produce middle class art. But you can at least expose him to other ways of thinking and viewing things. It's something I think I'll have to discover over a period of 18 months. I think one of the problems will be that the White kids will probably be more obviously talented, because they will have had more preparation. And the minority kids will be in a position already of being behind in a certain way. It's not an easy problem.

During this interview, David also discussed his commitment to "bringing something back" to the sending communities, and suggested a variety of service activities the students could perform. But at the same time, he deplored the tendency to see the arts merely as entertainment and not as serious pursuit, and warned against the students' becoming "minstrels" and devoting all their energies to the external community.

When Charles Cocteau was reporting the work of the Screening Committee to the planning committee, he said, alluding to another important goal:

> David made quite a point, as does this committee, that talent needs to be discovered but for purposes of exploration, not product.

This seemed to be in agreement with the planners' goal that the school should not necessarily be pre-professional and product-oriented. As we shall see, during the first two semesters, this goal was to undergo changes, and after some ambiguity which had negative effects on the social system of the school, was eventually replaced by a much more rigorous product orientation.

Finally, what of the goal of identifying talented students, the main mandate for the program? David had some ambivalence about this goal, and privately admitted that while he would accede to this goal, he did not consider it to be one of his very highest priorities.

> When I was at the California high school, some of the greatest kids I had were the kids who just came in off the street. They weren't identified as talented or even potentially talented. But they really had it.

Jane Sobel had always expressed some doubt about this goal; her general educational position was to develop programs that were beneficial to all children; she saw the freedom to explore and develop creativity as an opportunity that should be open to all.

But despite some privately held doubts among the planners, they had always taken the goal and its achievement literally and seriously. The rationale for the goal was always understood, although there was some confusion about a statistical specification that 3-5% of any school population fell into the category of highly talented. It is interesting that the director whom the screening committee chose articulated a vision which was extraordinarily in line with the planners' conception; yet the one goal he privately embraced less fully was precisely the one the planners themselves had quiet questions about.*

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* In commenting on the first draft of this case study, David Steinhoff noted:

> Confusion was brought about by the creativity/artistic talent issue. 'Creativity' training grows out of psychology. It borrows heavily from the arts--by observing and identifying the processes artists use to develop their products. It is a general method, supposedly contributing to creative behavior in all fields, not just the arts. Artistic training utilizes the methods of each artistic tradition in its pedagogy. The program was seeking the child who had the capacity to create or perform well in the arts. The creativity strand of psychology has no constituency and few disciples at this time. There was

What is even more interesting is that this goal, in its purest form, assumed greater and greater importance as the implementation of the school progressed. By the second year of operation, not only had "product" become quite important, but so had finding the students who were really talented, since this reflected on the school, its quality of teaching, and its right to exist. *

In a later section, we will examine how this succession of goals came about, and describe the tensions and conflicts wrought by the lack of clarity about the changing emphasis.

The Early Planning Period Comes to an End

The screening committee's decision of May, 1976 was kept secret for a month. Jane Sobel felt that without an assurance of funding, it would be poor public relations to announce that a director had been chosen for a school which could easily not get underway. Instead, she notified David of his selection, (he and the other candidates had already been told of the funding uncertainty), and David weighed the offer against another he had received from a school district in the large city to the west.

His choice of the Arts Co-op position was based both on his apprehensions and negative feelings about trying to get things done in the large city system and on his positive feelings about the "elegance" and carefulness of the arts program's plan. In addition, David had known Jane Sobel through work on projects on "youth participation" and there was a mutual respect and liking already in existence between them. Jane's association with the Arts Co-op project gave the plan even more credence.

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no one to develop a program or 'creativity' except as an occasional tangent to the main training which grew out of the pedagogy of the different art forms. The program had to focus on more traditional forms of pedagogy because

a) we could not find enough people who could deliver 'creativity' training;
b) our constituency included people whose support we would have lost otherwise.

* And Jane Sobel, after reviewing the case study, asserted:

'right to exist' is the primary rationale here, as I see it--and has two significant meanings:

1) eligibility for state reimbursement to towns, and
2) reducing the 'threat' to regular school programs and staff--i.e., providing a different, specialized learning environment.

The larger planning committee, which had been privy to most of the inner workings of the planning, was kept in the dark. They awaited the funding decision which would tell them whether their efforts would come to nothing. And they awaited the selection decision which would tell them if they had successfully communicated their vision to the screening committee and gotten a director who completed their often-heard line "The director we want for this school would be...." Sensitive to this uncertainty, Jane passed out copies of David's statement on Educating Young Artists from his application without his name identified. This paper sounded good to the planners, but as had always been their feeling, they still wanted to see the whole person.

We might comment here that the planning group did not have any formal veto power over the choice of director. Nor was the choice checked with the planning group prior to the final selection's being firmed up. There did not seem to be any question about the procedure which existed; this was in part due to the fact that the process had been so clearly spelled out in advance. But there was no question at the time of the discussion of the procedure either. We can posit that the planning committee had faith that with Jane Sobel and Charles Cocteau there, a screening committee would not get too far off the track. And as Jane Sobel noted, "it may be a measure of the trust Screening Committee members had in Cocteau that they never suggested reviewing the rejected applications."

David admitted in a private interview with the researcher before he met the planning group that while he was impressed with the plan, he would not mind if the planning committee simply disappeared. While he qualified this good-humoredly, saying that he might feel differently after he had met them, David was expressing the tension which accompanies the transition between planning and implementation. There is a pull between the planners, who have worked long and hard on their plan, internalized its vision, and want assurances that the implementation will be true to their intent, and the implementers, who want the autonomy to make their operational decisions on the basis of the existing reality and not be overly constrained by on-paper plans. David and the planning committee were no exceptions, although both were open to the other, and this built-in tension was resolved almost as soon as the planning committee and new director met.

On June 17, 1976, the Title IV-c grant was awarded. Finally, on June 30, 1976, the planning committee for the Arts Co-op met its first director, David Steinhoff. This was the final meeting of the planning committee; its role would end and its members would be possible candidates for the advisory or administrative councils. Anticipating the future, and mindful of the overall timeline for the project, Jane Sobel had initiated discussion of the changing role of the planning committee in the winter of 1975-76.

Gathered that night were the people who had created a vision and design of a school which they hoped would make a difference to the student, to the artist, to the community, and to the concept of successful regionalization. Those present had been involved for over a year in diverse aspects of the planning, representing important stakeholders and interests.

At the start of the evening, people milled around, meeting David and chatting informally. Feelings were running high; they had come far together, moving forward through the long periods of uncertainty with the same care and patience about their work that they displayed when there were few pressures on the planning. And now their job was done. They were warm and receptive to the man who would succeed them. A more formal introduction was made in the latter part of the meeting, and David made a few remarks and stressed his availability to, and need for help from, the planning committee. As the meeting continued, planning members continually referred to David now as the person responsible for the project. They gave him outs to change things they had done (for example, the slide show which had been developed by the community involvement group to be used for presentations at local Boards, and the like). David spent time with Margaret Howard Stanley before and after the meeting, and was tremendously taken with her. It is probably fair to say that the planners and implementers exceeded one anothers' expectations.

But there were storm clouds on the horizon. During the months when the planning group had been moving forthrightly ahead, many changes were taking place in their immediate environment. The most siginficant one was the change in the IASC administration and organization.

Events in the Environment: IASC Hires a New Director

In March, 1976, Dr. George Richland announced his resignation as Executive Director of IASC. (Richland had suffered a heart attack the previous year.) The search process for a replacement was not nearly so carefully carried out as the one we have described for the arts program (for example, the position was advertised in the Sunday New York Times, producing many more applications than the review committee was able to handle effectively).

The Representative Council of IASC selected and approved a strong candidate, David Kelman, from a nearby state department of education. Kelman had had experience with regional cooperatives at the state level, and had degrees in special education, interdisciplinary social science, and urban education.

David Kelman walked into a situation that was quite different than what he had been led to expect. Contrary to the impressions of support and solidarity he had received in his interview process, he found instead that there was a good deal of resistance to both IASC and the notion of regional cooperation in the area, and that IASC had a large debt and was in serious financial trouble. The participating Boards of Education were having to pick up the results of over-spending and were not at all happy about the state of affairs. The books were a mess, bills went unpaid, and promises were unfulfilled. The agency had a bad name with many of the institutions in the area.*

The financial and organizational problems of IASC gave Kelman a mandate to restructure the agency. His first move was to have IASC reconstituted as a regional center. As we have noted, this was the legal constitution which the other regional centers in the state had chosen. This new designation would make it eligible for additional grant monies. It would also mean that the Representative Council, (the governing body composed of the presidents of the area Boards of Education) would meet once a month instead of four times a year. At the same time, David Kelman eliminated the Executive Committee (the policy-making body which had been made up of the superintendents of the area districts) because he said it was not in any legal line relationship to him or the Representative Council.

Needless to say, this had implications for the planners' governance design. True, the Executive Committee had been mainly an informal influence, but they certainly did not view the IASC director as their superior, or even equal. The Representative Council had been seen as a non-interfering body, partly because it met so rarely. The initial worries about districts not participating in the arts program making decisions about the project were put to rest because of the past performance of the Representative Council and the trust that the same type of administration would still be in place in IASC. But within a year's time, June of 1977, the Representative Council would undergo drastic changes in participation, perspective, and power, and the governance structure of the arts program would be in shreds.

Along with this reconstitution, David Kelman undertook a total reorganization of the administrative structure of the agency. He let go part of the staff. In July, he eliminated the budget line for program development - that is, Jane Sobel's position. He instituted procedures and systems for management and budgeting. And, he implemented a dues structure, undoing the long tradition of "pay as you go", cafeteria style service from IASC. In Jane Sobel's words, the new IASC director was "operations oriented" as opposed to child-oriented.

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*Actually, Steinhoff reported that Kelman had confided to him at one point that he knew it would be this difficult.

When Jane Sobel first met David Kelman, he told her that he knew little about arts programs and would leave it up to her. But as time wore on, Jane began to worry about the autonomy of the arts school in relation to IASC. For one, David Kelman had begun to refer to David Steinhoff as "IASC staff". He repeated this three times at the June 30, 1976 meeting where David Steinhoff was introduced to the planning group. Neither the planning committee nor the superintendents who had developed the governance structure had ever classified the arts program director in this fashion. Steinhoff was told that he was required to come to IASC staff meetings. And when the Title IV-c funding came through, Kelman made it quite clear that he would not allow IASC to be used simply as a conduit, but that since he was legally responsible, he would supervise and oversee the operation.

The two Davids seemed to rub each other the wrong way. Tension between them erupted almost immediately. Both had come into situations which were different from what they had expected. Steinhoff came to realize quickly that the program was seriously underbudgeted and that his autonomy was not guaranteed as expected; and Kelman had realized that IASC was not solvent and not fully supported by the area towns. Both were in their early thirties, Jewish, cosmopolitan. Both felt the need to establish their authority in their new positions. The Arts Co-op program depended on a flexible and open relationship with IASC, but Kelman was already making changes which would have impact on the arts school. The new Executive Director was not concerned with whether those changes disturbed what had been planned; his interest was in turning IASC into a stable organization.

Thus, by the end of the Early Planning, a potential threat to the vision and design of the proposed school had suddenly appeared from the most unexpected sphere - the project's own parent organization. This tension would grow worse in the ensuing months, and during the first semester of operation, would be one of two major areas of stress and conflict for the new school.

Analysis and Commentary

Political stabilization. By the end of the Early Planning Period, the planners had come up with a suitable means of financing the school, although it was a departure from their original intention of having a self-sufficient, locally supported and controlled regional arts program. In their efforts to gain commitments from Boards of Education, the planners were faced with the dilemma of environmental contact versus avoidance. While they recognized as early as September, 1975 that they needed to begin keeping Boards in touch and it was not too soon to begin lobbying for tuition funds, and although some individuals on the planning committee secured promises from their Boards that tuitions would be allocated), there was little systematic effort made to approach the Boards directly and continuously. Of course there was no guarantee that tuition financing would have been possible even if the planners had been more persistent.

The decision to apply for outside funding was the resolution of another dilemma the planners confronted - that between accepting outside support which would dry up at the end of the funding period and leave the school without any financing versus postponement of the implementation until tuition funds could be secured so the program would operate as an integral part of the local education systems. The planners chose immediate survival concerns over long-term ones.

Support-building efforts during this period were notable in the good feelings that were created among stakeholders. There was a tremendously positive feeling within the planning group and in the environment about the planning effort; most resistance at this stage had been neutralized and/or turned around. Interest groups and stakeholders were included and their concerns responded to and incorporated into the planning.

A large number of linkages and connections were made, especially to the upper levels of the educational system and the arts organizations. The P/I group was an ever-expanding committee, since the implicit policy was to continually admit new members into the planning and thus increase the support base for the school.

But no real commitments were yet on the line. The towns' arts teachers had not yet lost any of their best students, Boards had not committed any money, superintendents had not had to alter any existing policies, and there was no competition among the towns about getting an equitable return from the school.

Knowledge utilization. Ideas and information for planning during this period came in large part from observing and hearing about other arts programs - NCA was still the primary model, but the Capitol Arts Program and the North Carolina School for the Arts were also referred to for ideas. The planners were clear that Arts Co-op was not to be a pre-professional school. Jane and other committee members collected news clippings, articles and books and these were exchanged at the beginning of planning committee meetings. Special expertise came from within the planning group (for example, Margaret Howard Stanley on the interdisciplinary approach and identifying talent) and from consulting people in the environment (such as Chuck Gould, who had an overview of planning for all the arts programs in the state).

A consultant brokered by our research project, Don Granger, visited Jane during the planning time and had several phone conversations with her. He was symbolically useful, in that his first visit in September, 1975 signalled the end of the purely internal stage of the planning process and he stressed the need to move from on-paper planning to gaining actual commitments. But the consultant felt the time available was too limited for him to operate in his usual fashion, and he did not follow up after his attendance at the September meeting. Jane had a hard time knowing how to use him and when to call on him; there was some feeling that for him to do the job properly, he would need to become acquainted with the local situation and participants, but Don

felt he did not have that kind of time, given the limited funds available.* Finally, although research project funds paid for the consultant, the planners still considered that paying anyone $200 a day for advice (when a long-term relationship was really the only advantageous model) was beyond the budget of most new school planning and implementation efforts.

The Arts Co-op planners were skilled at conceptualizing and articulating a vision for the school, and succeeded as well in putting their intent into writing without losing the sense of reality. They were less good on grantmanship, although Jane made a substantial effort (using consultants, expert help, enrolling in a 10-week course, looking at other proposals) to bone up on her skills. Her mistakes in grant writing were not in the text and goals sections, but rather in the budgeting - Jane tried to do the cutting before she submitted the proposal, and discovered too late that important items had been left out or were not sufficiently provided for. Thus, the proposal was funded, but turned out to be underbudgeted.

Vision development. The vision that developed during this period was congruent with and expanded upon the goals and philosophy which the planners had developed at the outset. They drew up an overall plan for the organizational design, filling in the details only on those pieces which straddled the boundaries between the school and its environment, such as financing arrangements and governance structures. As we have noted, the trustful atmosphere of the P/I group may well have led them to assume a benevolent, unchanging future for IASC, and never to consider what might happen if Jane and George Richland disappeared from the scene - or indeed to contemplate the idea that Arts Co-op might need protection from IASC.

The P/I group did not get hung up on internal operational details, and stressed the school's main thrusts:

- identifying and developing talent
- creating a community of artists and young adults,
- mounting an interdisciplinary approach to the arts,
- working with an integrated student body.

In short, they emphasized attention to the school's human system. Their work on over-all program structure was brief, but it was very clear what the school should be like. It was easy for the screening committee that selected the director, and other outsiders, to pick up quickly from written material and verbal reports what the planners envisioned. Still, the planners gave autonomy to the director: they left to him the details of how to operationalize the program's goals and philosophy. He would have five months lead time before the school opened.

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*In retrospect, the researcher's view is that for Granger to have been at all helpful, it was imperative for him to understand the arts program's relation to its environment. As we describe, the planners did very well on most of the goal and design decisions, but did not sufficiently protect themselves in relation to IASC and the local area.

Other key themes. Because Arts Co-op existed within a complex, dispersed structure, as we have noted, certain themes were crucial in understanding its planning and implementation.

1. Regionalization. The regional cooperation across individual districts was at this point working smoothly. All stakeholders appeared satisfied and no one town or interest group was slighted. Resistance was being turned around. But Boards (representing the citizenry) were unwilling to commit actual monies to this regional project.

2. Integration. In some contrast to the feelings around the 1968 Project CARE conflict, people seemed comfortable about discussing and considering an integrated school.* Still, the planning committee was predominantly White and middle class, and one of its members alerted the group to the fact that they had few inroads into the poor Black and Hispanic inner city communities. In the meantime, Waterton's standing with the federal government was worsening and no action had been taken on getting an integration plan together. Waterton was not looked on favorably in relation to receiving federal funds, since there was a threat of cutoff if an integration plan did not materialize.

3. Financing. The less wealthy towns with lower income from property taxes (Adams and Waterton) were most in need of programs for talented students since they had already had severe cutbacks in programs for the arts. The Boards' unwillingness to pay for a regional arts program out of their own property taxes placed the burden on the state (or other outside agency) to correct the unequal access.

4. Accountability and autonomy. At the time the governance structure was developed, it was conceived that Arts Co-op would be a fairly autonomous organization accountable to its constituents, namely, the participating towns. And not until the very end (June 30) of the Early Planning Period did Jane begin to suspect this autonomy was endangered. The new administration of IASC had just begun to intimate that they were the primary group to which Arts Co-op would be accountable. As we shall see, the issue here would become - whose school was this and who had what kind of power over it?**

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* As Jane Sobel remarked,

> Integration was less threatening here because participation in the school was voluntary for everyone. (Project CARE bused city kids to suburban classrooms. Thus the option was with the city parents.)

**David Steinhoff, upon reading a draft of the case, disagreed with the emphasis:

> The issue was more their /IASC's/ intrusiveness. We never questioned /that they had/ ultimate legal and financial responsibility. We had assumed IASC would not feel the need to use so much of the power they really did have.

5. Centralization versus local control. At this time there was little worry over whether districts would be able to control how their monies were spent and who made what decisions. All participating superintendents had been involved in all major planning decisions and had no reason to believe that the Administrative Council - which would be their formal vehicle for policy making once the pre-operational period began - would be any less protective of individual district interests. And up until the change in IASC (which had not yet begun to affect the districts), IASC had been a rather unimportant and weak organization in relation to the area districts.*

6. Standardization versus uniqueness. At this time, there was no question in the planners' minds that Arts Co-op would be unique and innovative and not subject to many of the usual school procedures or evaluations. After all, they qualified under state regulations as an innovative program, were not required to have certified staff, and had the agreement of the top-level decision makers in the participating systems that usual and uniform procedures would not automatically apply to Arts Co-op. They did not envision the possibility that standardization pressures might arise from other souces, such as IASC itself.

7. The power of planners. At this time, the planners assumed that the decisions they had made and plans they had designed would be implemented as such, perhaps with adaptation but always with acceptance and adherence to the intent of the vision. Everything was in writing, or so they thought. Careful provision had been made for linking the plans to implementation. If anything, they were worried about whether the new director would stick to what they had wanted. Here too the potential power of IASC was largely unattended.

Key Decisions

Most P/I decisions were well "owned" by the members, and people were generally clear on what had been decided, since written minutes were kept and distributed following each meeting, partly for the purpose of updating, and partly as a way of checking decisions with those who had and had not been present at the meeting. Most decisions were carefully considered; the one which the planners realized had not really made sense (about having only non-planning committee members represented on the screening committee) was changed. Other decisions which were carefully made would backfire during the Late Planning and Early Implementation periods, but these were not easily foreseeable in advance.

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*Again, Steinhoff questioned this emphasis, wondering if the superintendents really cared that much about maintaining control. He said that he interpreted their ultimate defense of the arts project more out of loyalty to the planning and offense at Kelman. "I don't think they wanted the trouble of control. Perhaps I am wrong, but the issue is more complex than #5."

The most important decisions appeared to be:

a. A governance structure developed and owned by the then participating superintendents (July 1975) in which the Arts Co-op Director was most directly responsible to an Administrative Council composed of the participating superintendents. But the superintendents decided to trust the IASC administration and non-participating towns to abide by the wishes of the Administrative Council on issues related to Arts Co-op. They did not count on the possibility that changes in IASC could wreak havoc with their structure.*

b. Having a staff of practicing artists. The ideal, according to Chuck Gould, would be to have a mix of certified and non-certified staff, thus satisfying the State Office of Certification and the teachers unions as well as the need to have full-time practicing artists who were not part of the regular education system. But Gould felt that it would be all right to start with fewer certified people, particularly because funding was not coming from regular local town sources but from special State grant money and was therefore not as subject to regular requirements as locally allocated taxpayer money.

c. Having a half-time program. This decision was made to decrease the chances of developing an "elite" school which was not connected to the regular education system and which sapped resources, students, and staff from the regular schools without putting anything back in. With a half-time program, the arts program could leave the academic program concerns up to the sending schools, avoid being isolated and becoming elite, and ensure a greater degree of support from the sending schools. What was not anticipated about this decision was that it would be difficult to locate faculty who could afford to take a half-time position away from a major urban center where they could find other work in the arts.

d. Having five art areas. The underbudgeting situation made this decision a potential problem, since money would have to be stretched thin.

e. Changing from tuition financing (February 1976) to primarily outside funding. The superintendents met first on this, followed by the

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*After having read this account, Jane Sobel wondered

> Is there any way to protect a fledgling structure from the effects of changes in the cast of characters (without making it static, rather than simply stable)?

This is perhaps the central dilemma in the development of the arts program.

full committee. This decision altered the relationship to the sending towns, and made the project more accountable to the fund-administering agency, IASC.

f. Postponing (February 1976) the opening from September, 1976 until February 1977 as a result of financing uncertainty.

g. Selection of a director (May-June 1976), following a careful search and screening by a committee constituted by the planning committee.

h. Student selection procedures to be based on audition and interview rather than standardized testing. Potential as well as developed talent was to be identified.

i. The school would have an interdisciplinary approach.

P/I group capabilities. What capabilities could be seen at work behind these decisions?

1. Legitimacy development. The planning group was a legitimate group in the eyes of IASC, the sending towns, the State Department of Education, the state Arts Commission, and other stakeholders in the artistic, educational, and lay communities. Jane Sobel insured this legitimacy through formal resolutions committing each town to participating in the process, and by constituting a planning group which represented all the interests affected by the development of a new, public, regional, integrated, high school program for the arts.

2. Political skills. Jane Sobel was highly skilled as a support-getter. She was a real diplomat who answered peoples' concerns directly and understood what was potentially sensitive to peoples' interests. During this period, all stakeholders were extremely satisfied with the planning effort.

3. Investment development. There was a high degree of commitment among the planning group which derived from a number of sources, including:

- the well-run, productive meetings
- the early clarity about purpose, philosophy, and governance of the school
- Jane's previous accomplishments and her credibility from having been involved with good and necessary projects
- the continual inclusion of new ideas and new members in the planning group.

4. Meta-planning. The planning committee had a clear meta-plan. Jane was mostly responsible for this, although she was not overly rational or rigid, and was willing to adapt and make changes in the overall meta-plan when that made sense, as in the case of postponing opening and going for outside funding.

5. Decision-making. The early planning period was characterized by an extremely high degree of clarity and ownership of planning decisions. Jane's pattern of checking all major decisions first with the superintendents aided in the group's decision-making, since there was no chance that their decisions would be vetoed by their superiors. There was real consensus on decisions, contributing to the high level of ownership. All decisions were in writing in the meeting notes.

Intermediate Outcomes

Adequacy of obtained financial resources. By the end of the Early Planning Period, the planners had secured a minimum amount of money to open the school, but had to rely on outside funding rather than tuition monies.

Environmental endorsement. There was a great deal of positive support for the proposed school, and much of the resistance had been confronted and turned around. But there was still a problem of low visibility.

Decision quality. At one level, the quality of most planning/implementation decisions during this period was high, as a result of the careful preparation and discussion, along with clarity about what was being decided and why. However, it appeared that some decisions were vulnerable on two counts. First, Jane's centrality meant for poorer decisions when she was inadequately prepared for making them (as in the underbudgeting situation). Second, the very supportiveness and collaborativeness of the P/I group made them less skeptical and wary than they might have been; they did not engage in "worst-case" thinking, and consequently made some decisions they would come to regret. Almost every planning group does this, of course, and after-the-fact identification of ruinous decisions is much simpler than anticipating them. Here we only wish to note that though this P/I group's work was much more thoughtful than that we noted in our other sites, and though their batting average was consistently good, they slipped too easily into some poor decisions without realizing what they had done. The weakness was largely in assuming the continuance of a current and benevolent state of affairs as far as IASC was concerned.

Decision ownership. This too tended to be high, due to the assurance of approval by the top level decision makers in each district, the real consensus that was reached for each decision, and the checking of all decisions by putting them in writing in the meeting notes.

The Late Planning Period

The Late Planning Period (or pre-operational period, as the planners called it) covers the time between the hiring of the director and the opening of the school - from July, 1976 through January, 1977.

The first stage of this period was a transition period, in which the new director was educated about and connected to the project. We will deal with that period as a separate and distinguishable segment.

Transition: Linking Plans to Implementation

With the formal introduction of the new director, David Steinhoff, to the planning committee, the Early Planning Period drew to a close. The planning group ceased to function as the main decision-making body. Although Steinhoff's tenure would not formally begin until September 1, 1976, he actually began working as soon as the Title IV-c funds were assured in mid-June. During the summer months, David worked closely with Jane Sobel, learning about the project and its history, connecting with her network of contacts, and gradually assuming the primary leadership role. It is important to understand how this transition of power took place; Arts Co-op made careful provision for linking the planning to the implementation, probably more so than any of our other sites, and it appears at this writing that the opened school has been quite true to the original intent of the planners.

The relationship of planner to implementer. The smoothness of the transition can be attributed in large part to the relationship which already existed and continued to grow between Jane and David. They knew each other from prior work; there seemed to be none of the defensiveness, resentment, or worry about shared goals that is often an integral part of the planner/implementer succession.

During these first few months, David worked with Jane constantly, consulting her about all aspects of the program. Initially, Jane had worried that she would interfere with David's autonomy, and would become the planner who cannot bear to let go of the plan;[12] David, however, was not at all worried about this, knew he needed Jane, and told her so. But he, in turn, was worried that he was making too many demands on Jane, sympathizing with the planner's need to get rid of the burden of responsibility, saying, "She is trapped in a way, and I am sure she would like to break out."

In addition to the special relationship between planner and implementer, there were numerous documents which served to bridge the gap between the planning and implementation. A great deal was in writing, and copies of minutes, documents, and important decisions had been distributed both to planning participants and key stakeholders in the

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12) Jane's and David's sensitivity to the tension and pull between the planner and implementer may derive in part from a conference held at our research offices at the Center for Policy Research on June 16-17, 1976, where planning/implementation linkage was discussed in depth. And, reflecting on this period from the perspective of April, 1978, David commented that the presence of our research project, and our explicit interest in P/I linkage had made him exceptionally attentive to this process. And Jane, after reviewing the case study draft, confirmed that "CPR's conference was indeed responsible for making the transition period 'work'--not so much for specific problem-solving, as for creating awareness."

environment. There were at least three major collections of information which Jane passed on to David, including:

1. Jane's notebook. A systematic history of the planning was contained in the notebook which Jane kept throughout the planning. Included were typed notes of each meeting which had gone to all planning committee members and key stakeholders; notes from contacts made with State Department people, artists, school people, Board members, et al; a list of planning committee members and other important participants; documents from the planning; and questions she had jotted down that needed to be answered along the way.

2. The Title IV-c proposal. The proposal contained a history of the planning, the philosophy and rationale underlying the planning, a set of goals and objectives, a description of the participating towns, a description of the screening process for director selection, and letters of support. Not only did the proposal make clear the who, what, why, and how of the planning, but it also made certain promises which the new director would be bound by, since funding was secured on the basis of those promises.

3. The Center for Policy Research Summary report of February, 1976. This report, which summarized the planning from its initiation through January, 1976, also spelled out the major goals and vision the planners held, and made comments about the tasks the director would face when s/he took over.

From these reports, and from continual conversations with Jane, David derived a fairly complete picture of how the planning had occurred - the mandates, goals, resources, and important contacts.

There were other connections being made. Members of the planning committee continued to be active. They recruited students, served on the Administrative Council (Jacob Rute, Charles Cocteau, Geoff Pampas, and Don Croix), and Advisory Committee (Margaret Howard Stanley, and Albert Artesio from the Screening Committee), identified potential staff, helped to make liaisons with the sending schools, raised money for matching the challenge grant, and recruited community support.

Margaret Howard Stanley and Jacob Rute, both part of the "core group" during the planning, moved into equally central roles in the late planning. Margaret Howard became the major consultant to program and staff development - and in fact, to most aspects of the social architectural design, based on her expertise in educational programs for talented youngsters and her experience with NCA. Jacob Rute was a trusted link with the upper levels of educational administration in the six towns, a main ally in the struggle against IASC, and could speak for the educators' interests and sensitivities.

Jane's oral histories served as a major planning/implementation link. She gave the "five-minute recap" at the opening meetings of the

Administrative Council and Advisory Committee, the box supper held to recruit support among the local arts community, at meetings with faculty and school people, and at the first meeting of the new Arts Co-op staff.

Jane also connected David to her network, introducing him around the area. She told the researcher she had

> put together a list of people in the arts and people in the community. If the transition is to be tidy, David has to be visible to those people whose support is really important.

Jane and David spent the summer meeting with upper-level key people. David began to mobilize his own network as well. The difference in the scope and range of their networks is significant; Jane's was basically a local network, with many ties in the Winchester County area, extending somewhat less densely throughout the state, to the State Department of Education, with fewer ties to the city, and to Washington, and fewer still to other states. David was more of a "cosmopolitan". In the past ten years, David had lived and worked in New York City, Berkeley, and Northtown, and had numerous connections in those areas. His last job had had a national scope, visiting youth participation projects all over the country. These had connected him to a number of federal agencies and institutions. David's networks cut across the country, extending over a greater area than Jane's, though they were not nearly so dense or long-lived on the local scene.

These contacts served a large variety of functions. Some were used for staff identification or were interviewed as potential staff; others gave advice and help on program development and student selection; still others offered political expertise and strategies. A large number of the contacts were made for the purpose of gaining political support, as well as to locate and neutralize potential and existing resistance to the school.

Differences in style between David and Jane. Whereas Jane was optimistic, cautiously confident,[13] experienced, and with a number of local planning successes and failures behind her, David tended to be pessimistic, was continually worrying, was running his own show for the first time, and was new to the local area. Jane was even-tempered, soft-spoken but articulate, careful, and positive. David was intense

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13) Some of Jane's confidence may have been a stance which she learned about in a Wingspread article about starting an innovative project. The article stressed a strategy of talking about a proposed innovation as if it were absolutely going to happen, or, in fact, already existed. The idea was that this kind of positive presentation would implant the idea firmly in the minds of the listeners and create the illusion that its existence was a given.

and creative, fast-moving, quick-tempered, and critical. To a certain extent, David's style would become problematic in relation to certain parts of the environment (such as the State Department of Education and IASC), and to his own staff.

But it must also be pointed out that the Late Planning and Implementation Periods made very different demands on the leader than had the Early Planning. There was much more to do in much less time. Everything had to be done at once.* The planning group had always had the option of postponing opening, and in fact did just that. The implementers did not have that choice once they began recruiting students. There were two tasks which had to be accomplished during the Early Planning - getting enough money to open a school, and hiring a director to put the school together and open it up. This left staffing, selecting students, developing program, getting a space ready to house the project, and dozens of other crucial operational needs (like transportation, rescheduling of students, gaining approval for credit) as the minimal necessary tasks to be accomplished by the director before opening. Considerations of the continuance and survival of the program were equally critical, since the program would come up for renewal each year (whether funding came from an outside source or from the local Boards of Education).

Jane's role at IASC ends. In July, 1976, Jane discovered that there was no longer a position for her at IASC under the new director, David Kelman. Jane had originally thought that a portion of the 8% overhead from the Title IV-c grant would be able to cover her salary. (Actually this category was called "administration and supervision in the IV-c budgets. George Richland had ok'd this, but Kelman would not allow it.) It was also clear that Kelman would not go out of his way to make alternate arrangements for Jane: in drawing up the new IASC budget, he cut out her salary line, and although he never formally announced to Jane that she would not be continued, this became clear in July when he offered to write her references for future job applications.

It was clear, however, that Jane would remain active whether money existed to pay her or not. While she did not depend on her salary for survival, she was nevertheless a professional and an expert who would normally be compensated as such. Jane had always said that she saw herself staying involved until the school was off the ground, but there was some feeling that Kelman might have exploited that knowledge by assuming she would do what was needed for the project regardless of pay.

As soon as Jane and David Steinhoff realized that Jane was being separated from IASC, they decided that she would be paid as a consultant to the project out of the Arts Commission and Title IV-c grants. When the struggles with IASC worsened during the fall and winter, Jane

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* Steinhoff noted in his comments that NCA had had one full year for its pre-operational period, and two staff, to plan a program for 30 students. Arts Co-op, in contrast, had five months and one staff member, to plan for 55-60 students.

decided to stop being paid altogether, so that she could take action and there would be no question of a conflict of interest.

Jane's separation from IASC had both negative and positive effects in relation to the arts project. It negatively affected the implementation of the governance structure, because without Jane as the contact person with the supervisory organization, they found they had little protection against a manipulation of the planned and agreed-upon governance structure by IASC. It had positive effects on Jane's mobility and freedom of action, which would in all likelihood have been limited under Kelman's directorship. And after the conflict between Arts Co-op and IASC had begun to boil, Jane was in a much better position to fight for the needs of the Arts Co-op without being caught in an uncomfortable and probably untenable position as an IASC employee.

Transition: The issue of organizational carryover. When David Kelman took over IASC, he began making changes in the organization and in its approach to the running of its regional projects. Some of these changes "undid" decisions and policies which had been made under past administrations, and with the agreement of the constituent towns.

When organizations undergo crucial changes in staff or membership, to what extent is the new group compelled to accept policies, decisions, and personnel of the former organization, especially if it is a "representative group" such as a Board of Education or a regional cooperative? Jane began to wonder about this question soon after Kelman took over; she had always believed that a decision once made by a representative group must be formally unmade before a completely new one can replace it. But David Kelman did not share that view; it appears that he viewed the start of his tenure and his reorganization of IASC as the signal for ignoring many previous decisions. As long as it was "legal", Kelman felt comfortable.

If organizational policies could so easily be changed because they lacked legal backing, so too could any written or verbal plans which had been agreed upon by the Arts Co-op planners. During the Early Planning Period, the planners had proceeded with the faith that their decisions and plans were backed by the power they held as formal participants in a carefully worked out regional cooperation. But they were to discover that some parts of their plan were vulnerable to manipulation by a person in a position of formal authority who took power and superseded the power of the plans.

Transition: summary. Overall, the transition of leadership from Jane to David was a gradual process, done thoroughly and in a great deal of depth. Jane's role stayed central throughout the Late Planning Period, although she and David took responsibility for different domains. With the opening of school, Jane's role would concentrate almost completely on the environmental political struggles and very little on the operational aspects of the school, where David's leadership would become the dominating force inside the school. So during this transition period, the dedicated planner was already beginning to let go of the plan.

The Late Planning Period: September, 1976 through January, 1977

Changes in the P/I Group and Its Metaplan

There were actually two P/I groups during the late planning period - Jane and David, and David and his newly forming staff. They were not incongruent with one another, but concentrated on different areas of the planning. The Jane-David P/I group focused its efforts on the external concerns of governance, the IASC struggle, and gaining support and resources. And while Jane was a consultant to David on the internal design of the program, it was primarily David with his staff who made the decisions which would operationalize the planners' goals.

This period was much more hectic than the earlier planning periods. There was much more to do. There was a tremendous level of emotional strain deriving from the struggles with IASC. The planning seemed less organized and much more frenetic, and the participants, other than David, did not always have a clear sense of what was happening in other spheres. This impression may have partly resulted from David's style in contrast to Jane's. He tended to keep more inside his head and to fill people in less systematically than had Jane. Also, David had so much to do (he often worked 13-16 hour days during this period) that he was less complete at filling in the researcher on the whole sequence of events than Jane had been. He too kept a notebook with handwritten jottings of meetings, events, questions, and ideas. But one had the feeling that while David and Jane were essentially on top of the task, they were just managing to keep one step ahead of the game. Geoff Pampas of the planning committee had accurately forecasted back in January of 1976 that the director would have an enormous job ahead of him. What the planning committee had not been able to predict was that changes in the parent organization, IASC, would invalidate some of their basic governance and operational premises; and furthermore that a personal conflict between the two new directors (David and David) would tremendously exacerbate this strain. Already by September 2, 1976, David Steinhoff felt stressed by the IASC situation, and commented to the researcher:

> There is something I've wanted to say since the beginning about starting an alternative organization. In the course of our early conversations and throughout that conference [June 16-17, held at the Center for Policy Research] you had at your place, I never heard this word come up, and that's "commitment" - the question of how much pain are you willing to take. If I were a planning committee, I would ask that of a director. That screening committee did not probe my emotional state. They didn't find out how far I was willing to go. They didn't poke my emotional tonality...It's got to do with the capacity to love an object, or to be a fanatic or a nut. But I think it's a really critical thing.

Chronology

During the Late Planning Period, there were two fairly distinct strands of activity: relations with the environment, and the internal development of the school. These domains had not been so clearly separated in the Early Planning Period, when the planners were creating both the internal organization of the school and ways for it to articulate with its environment. In the Late Planning Period, the structures for linking the school to its environment were put in place and began functioning. At the same time, the director and his staff began turning the planners' vision into a real school. For clarity we will deal in depth with the strand of environmental relations, and then turn back to look at the strand of the internal development of the school.

To help the reader remember that these two sorts of activities were occurring in tandem, we first provide a short overview of each, with chronological charts.

Overview of relations with the environment. Within the environmental relations strand (Chart 3), we will be examining the drive to obtain resources and gain support, the continuing struggle with IASC, and the implementation of the governance structure. We will spend a good deal of time talking about the governance structure and the relationship to IASC for two reasons.

First, these problems took up a large (in fact, it seemed, inordinate) amount of time - time taken away from the task of designing the organization and getting the school opened.

Second, these problems were to be a continuing source of tension, conflict and friction for Arts Co-op and its director over the next two years. They were a constant emotional drain on the planners and implementers.

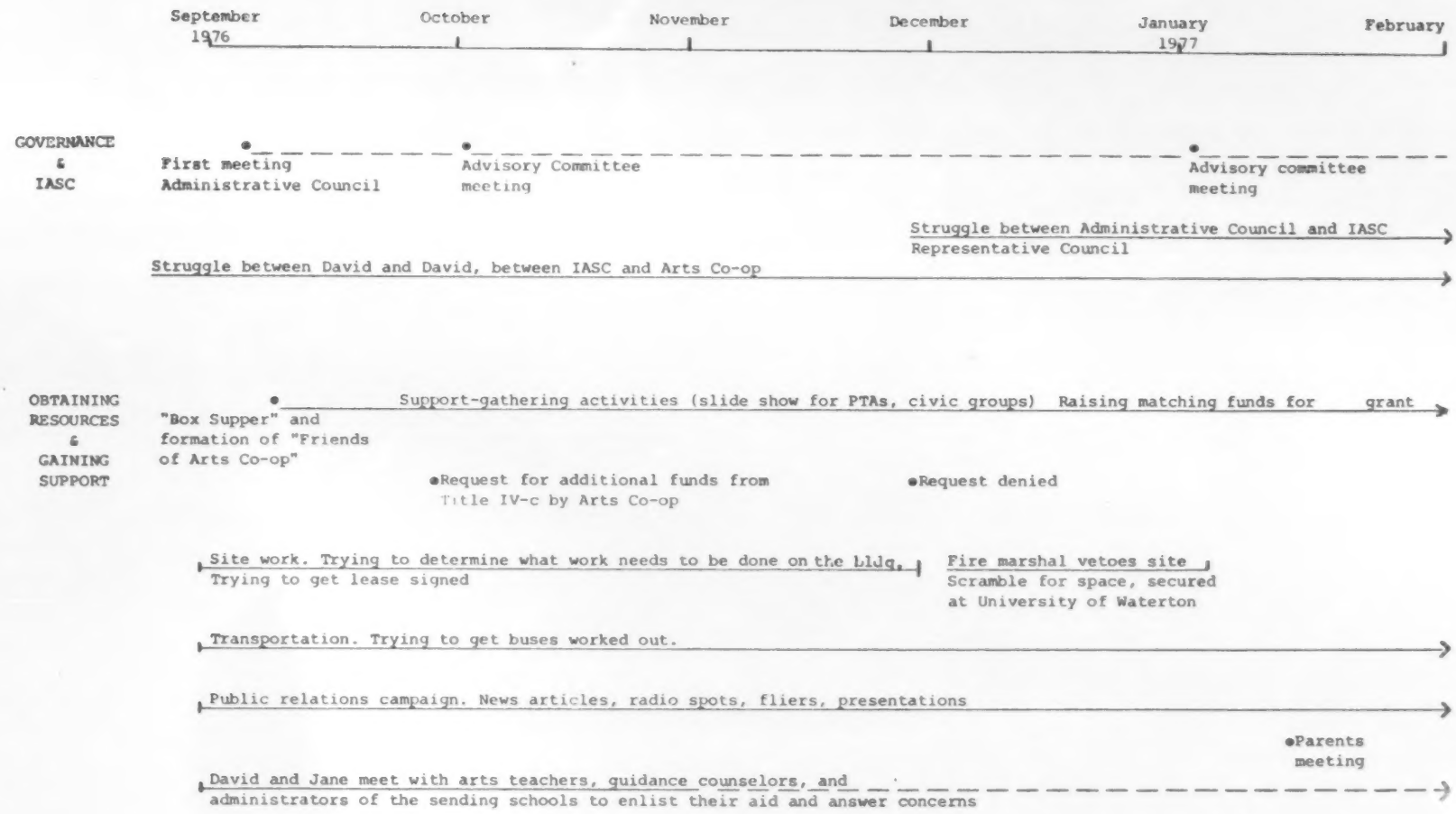
In September and October, the governance structure was put in place. The Administrative Council met for the first time in early September, and the Advisory Committee for the first time in early October.

Obtaining additional resources from Title IV-c and for the matching of the Arts Commission grant became a main preoccupation of the Late Planning Period, and occupied Jane and David from September through December.

Gaining support was another major thrust of this period. The problem of low visibility (despite the efforts of the Friends of Arts Co-op, a public relations campaign on radio and in newspapers managed by Jane Sobel, and continual visits to the schools in the participating towns), made the recruitment of students more difficult, and underlined the need to enlist the support of the faculties of the participating schools. In September through November, David and Jane met with arts teachers, guidance counselors, administrators, and whole faculties to hear their concerns and answer their questions.

Chart 3

CHRONOLOGICAL FLOW I: ENVIRONMENT


September 1976
October
November
December
January 1977
February
GOVERNANCE & IASC
First meeting Administrative Council
Advisory Committee meeting
Advisory committee meeting
Struggle between Administrative Council and IASC Representative Council
Struggle between David and David, between IASC and Arts Co-op
OBTAINING RESOURCES & GAINING SUPPORT
"Box Supper" and formation of "Friends of Arts Co-op"
Support-gathering activities (slide show for PTAs, civic groups)
Raising matching funds for grant
•Request for additional funds from Title IV-c by Arts Co-op
•Request denied
Site work. Trying to determine what work needs to be done on the bldg. Trying to get lease signed
Fire marshal vetoes site
Scramble for space, secured at University of Waterton
Transportation. Trying to get buses worked out.
Public relations campaign. News articles, radio spots, fliers, presentations
•Parents meeting
David and Jane meet with arts teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators of the sending schools to enlist their aid and answer concerns

J.R. Morello, the creative writing staff member whom David hired in October, also made visits to the Waterton schools to recruit students and meet with teachers. J.R. was a product of the Waterton schools, and had only turned away from a penchant for vandalism and trouble when a high school English teacher helped him discover he could write.

Operational difficulties with site and transportation became major problems as the opening date approached. Although the Administrative Council and David Kelman had advised Steinhoff to leave the transportation up to the individual towns, the participating towns were moving at different speeds and with different levels of commitment toward finding buses or alternate means of getting the students to the school. Furthermore, it was never made very clear to the public that the towns, not the Arts Co-op director, were to take responsibility for transportation and parents blamed Steinhoff for the transportation foulups.

The site which the planning committee had chosen, Starr Hall on the University of Waterton campus - at first looked as if it was going to require fairly extensive work and would still not be adequate for the entire program. Then in December, it was not passed by the city fire marshal, and a mad scramble ensued to find space in time for the February opening. David and Joan used a large number of network connections in an attempt to resolve these operational concerns. and IASC contributed to solving this critical problem. Space was finally located on the University campus, but it was in dispersed, ugly classrooms, in basements of lightless buildings.

Overview of school design work. Within the internal design strand (Chart 4) we will be looking at staff selection, student selection, clarification of the vision, and methods for actualizing the plan.

The construction of the social architectural design of the program began in September. Staff were recruited, but in a somewhat catch-as-catch can fashion, because staff willing to work those hours and for that pay were not in full supply, and because of myriad other planning pressures on the director.* In addition, there was little time left for the staff to develop a unified philosophy. Staff selection continued right up through the time of opening; there was a fair amount of staff turnover during the first semester and a large changeover in June, 1977.

Students were recruited in October and November, through personal visits by David to the fourteen sending schools; references were collected from peers, parents and teachers. As the planners had envisioned, final selection of students was carried out through audition and interview; no standardized testing methods were used.

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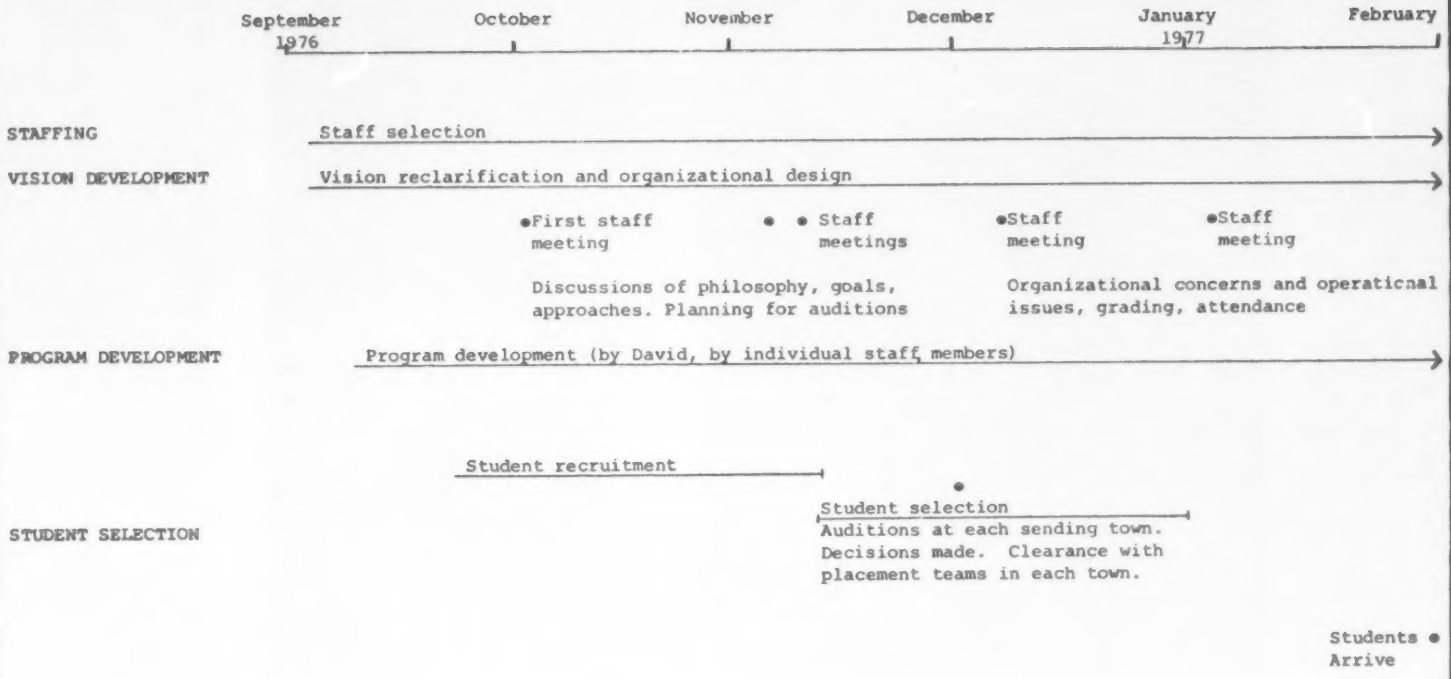
* Steinhoff objected to this characterization of the process, asserting that it "gives a random feeling to what was a pretty careful process." But because of the difficulty of locating staff in certain art areas, David had to choose people who were available though not necessarily the best match with one another, or in some cases, with the philosophy of the new school.

Chart 4

CHRONOLOGICAL FLOW II: DESIGN WORK



Program development was done in a largely dispersed manner. David Steinhoff made certain basic decisions about the structure, functioning, and tone of the program. He mandated* a one-day-per-week inter-disciplinary day, although there was a good deal of conflict within the staff about this. But a fair amount of autonomy was given to the staff to develop their program for their art area.** David clearly felt that he did not have the expertise to interfere with the staff's specialties; what is interesting is that this autonomy would come into question as the year wore on and David became less than fully satisfied with some staff techniques and student performance.

Relations with the environment. We now turn to the flow of events in more detail.

1. The governance structure is implemented. The governance structure which the planners had developed in July, 1975, was put in place in the early fall of 1976. Many of the planning committee members moved into positions on the Administrative and Advisory Councils, in a logical continuation of their original functions as planning members (such as representation, setting policy and overarching goals, and providing expertise).

The Administrative Council, it may be recalled, was composed of the superintendents of the participating towns, and the Executive Director of IASC or his/her designee, and (eventually) an Arts Co-op student. The Advisory Committee was handpicked by the Director of Arts Co-op for both expertise and political influence, and will be considered in more detail below in section 3, Gaining support.

David Steinhoff called the first meeting of the Administrative Council of Arts Co-op (he referred to it as "my Board") on September 9, 1976. The Council met monthly after this. While the initial meeting was congenial, the first few meetings saw the development of tensions between David as the director of a specialized and innovative school and the administrators of the participating districts over what David felt were necessary deviations from standard operating procedure. At the same time, issues of equity - who got what for their money - began to surface and protection of individual town interests placed the participating districts in a competitive relationship to one another and with Arts Co-op. The smooth regional cooperation which had characterized the Early Planning Period was less smooth now as implementation approached and actual resources were on the line, not just on

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*Again, Steinhoff felt this was not quite an accurate description. He said, "We discussed several options, though I don't remember how we came to this design. I insisted that significant, identifiable time be set aside." This is true, and Steinhoff's pushing toward a single, weekly interdisciplinary day was a result of his adherence and loyalty to the plan. The newly hired staff, on the other hand, did not recognize the importance of the interdisciplinary concept as an integral part of the plan and, in fact, David did end up overriding a number of the staff's objections.

**As Steinhoff added, "Staff selection determined content."

paper.*

In the meantime, David Kelman was reorganizing IASC, and found the existing governance structure not only unacceptable to his style of operation but incompatible with his reorganization plan. How one describes what happened as a result depends on whose point of view one subscribes to. According to the Administrative Council and Jane and David, Kelman usurped their power and authority. According to Kelman, the Administrative Council forfeited its power. Whichever way it is put, the governance structure which emerged was not what the planners had intended it to be. Why and how did this happen?

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*In reading the draft of this case, Steinhoff disagreed with the author's interpretation of the competitiveness among the towns in this pre-operational period.

> I don't think the stakes were high enough (5-20 kids) for them to compete, really. For example, on the issue of taking extra kids (see page 89), Cocteau's position was, I think, in retrospect, more to protect the program from an image of inconsistency before his board. He knew the politics and acted in Interart's interest--so it seems to me now...It was more a matter of them trying to protect Interarts from a bad image (as another inconsistent IASC program) before Boards of Education, I think.

The author thinks this is an equally possible interpretation.

It had not occurred to the planners that there might be changes in IASC which would affect the implementation of their governance structure. Further, the planners had believed that if the structure were the result of a cooperative effort of a legally-agreed upon process of planning and development, the structure could not be changed except by a formal agreement of the participating towns. The planners were completely and totally wrong on both counts.

2. Changes in IASC structure and their impact on the Arts Co-op governance.

David Kelman's reorganization of IASC and his belief in the need for close scrutiny of IASC projects threw the governance structure into disarray. It may be helpful to refer back to the assumptions listed next to the diagram of the structure (Chart 5) as we run down the changes at IASC.

(a) The elimination of the Executive Committee, made up of the participating superintendents of IASC. Kelman discontinued this group in the summer of 1976, justifying his action by pointing out there was no legal line relationship between the Executive Committee and the Executive Director/Representative Council of IASC, the bodies legally accountable for the organization. By doing this, Kelman removed the strongest check on his actions and took away the formal and informal policy-making role of the superintendents, which had been a tradition in IASC and was normal procedure in most of the other regional agencies. The Executive Committee had had the most potential power of any body in IASC, and could conceivably have cut into Kelman's authority, as they had with previous directors.[14]

(b) Changes in the Representative Council as a result of the reconstitution of IASC from an inter-district committee to a regional center. The Representative Council, made up of the board presidents or their appointees (all Board members, however) of each town participating in IASC, now met monthly instead of four times a year, and was much more closely involved in project operation than ever before. Superintendents were no longer allowed voting privileges on the Representative Council; now only Board members had that power. Furthermore, the deficit from the previous year (for which the participating Boards were liable) had generated their first-priority concerns: efficient management and closely-watched budget decisions.

The Representative Council had traditionally been a low-commitment body. Members came to meetings (which were held in the mornings, and since most of the men in the area were at work, this left participation

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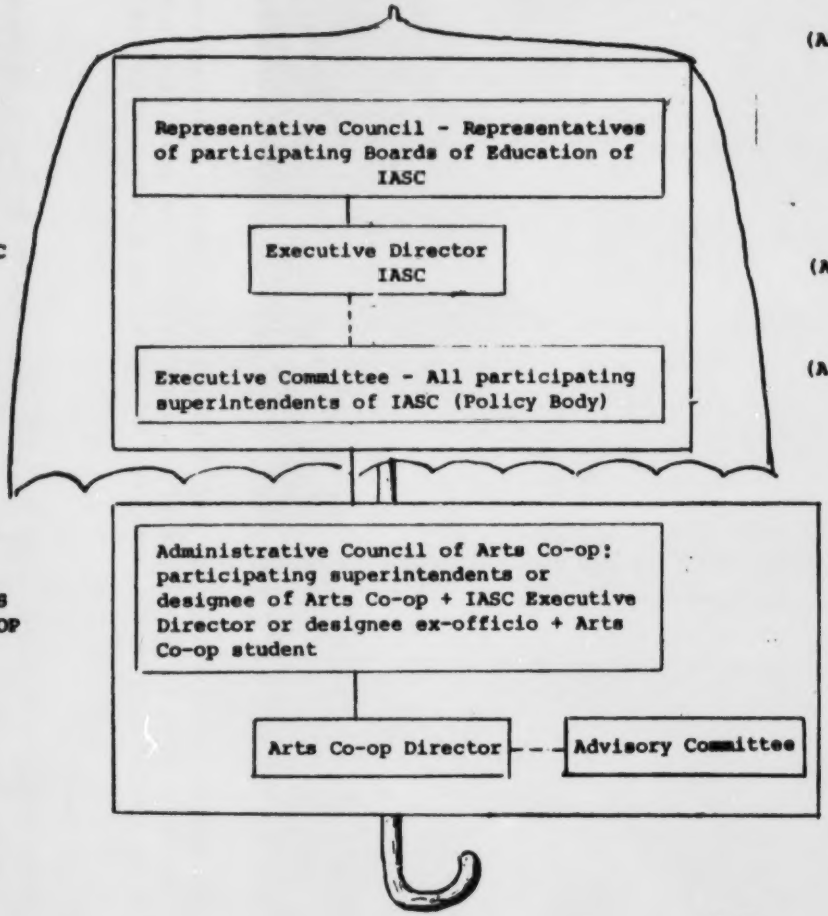
14) An interesting historical note is that when George Richland originally became the IASC director, he saw the position as that of a super-superintendent. But the area superintendents did not share that view at all, and quickly disabused him of it. The point is that the superintendents at that time played an important and central role in the determination of IASC policy and direction.

Chart 5

THE ORIGINAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE AND ITS ASSUMPTIONS


IASC
Representative Council - Representatives of participating Boards of Education of IASC
Executive Director IASC
Executive Committee - All participating superintendents of IASC (Policy Body)
ARTS CO-OP
Administrative Council of Arts Co-op: participating superintendents or designee of Arts Co-op + IASC Executive Director or designee ex-officio + Arts Co-op student
Arts Co-op Director
Advisory Committee

(Assumed: 1. The Representative Council would meet only four times a year
2. At least five, if not all six of the Arts Co-op towns would be part of it.
3. Superintendents would retain voting power on the Council.)

(Assumed: George Richland or someone similar.)

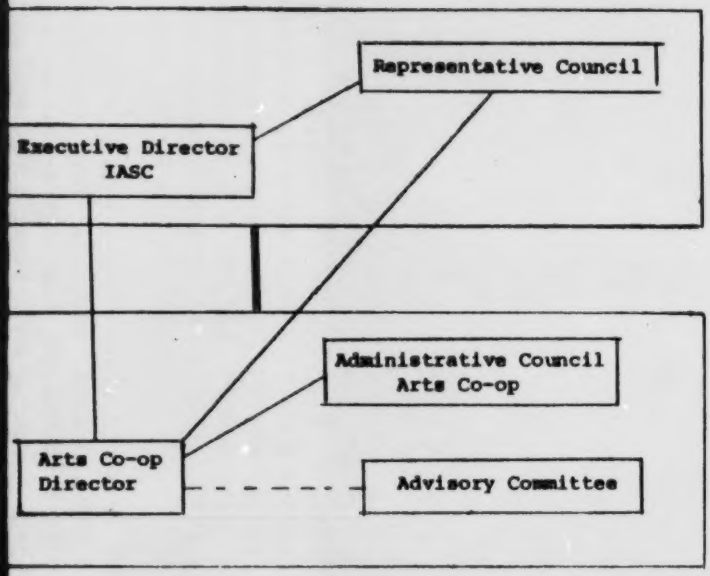
(Assumed: Five or six superintendents of the Arts Co-op towns would be active.)

(Assumed: Arts Co-op would have autonomy; would use IASC as a protective umbrella.)

(Assumed: Jane Sobel would be the IASC designee.)

Chart 6

THE GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE AS IT EVOLVED



Net changes:

-Representative Council meets 12 times a year, not 4
-Only two of six Arts Co-op towns still in IASC and on Representative Council
-George Richland gone
-No more Executive Committee
-Jane Sobel out of IASC
-Shifts in formal power relationships as noted below.

Note: - The line relationship between Arts Co-op Director and the IASC Executive Director
- The triple, and separate accountability demands on the Arts Co-op Director: to the Administrative Council, to the IASC Executive Director, and to the IASC Representative Council
- The Administrative Council is not in a line or buffer position between the operational level of Arts Co-op and IASC.

to non-working women), thought about the issues hard for the two or three hours they were there, and then spent little or no time again until the next meeting. In the past, the Representative Council had tended to rely on the recommendations of the project people involved, or the staff of IASC. When they only met four times a year, their role and veto power had been fairly limited; they were not exactly a rubber stamp, but they were not an intrusive or powerful group.

(c) The changes in membership of IASC and the resulting membership of the Representative Council. We will remember that the planners had decided to risk having IASC towns who were not participating in the arts project vote on Arts Co-op-related decisions with the trust that the Representative Council would not exceed its traditional role of generally accepting the recommendations of the project involved. But of the six towns involved in Arts Co-op, several had dropped out of IASC since the advent of the planning, and more continued to do so during the Late Planning and Implementation periods. Winchester and Waterton were the only two towns in Arts Co-op that remained in IASC, and Waterton's representative rarely attended Representative Council meetings.

By December, 1976, the Representative Council, now composed almost totally of non-Arts Co-op towns, was making decisions about Arts Co-op that Jane and David felt were the domain of the internal governance structure of Arts Co-op (e.g. line-by-line budget approval and changes, approval of choice of site for the project, and approval of staff). Kelman insisted that such things must come before the Representative Council, but during that fall, he kept refusing to put Arts Co-op concerns on the agenda until he was able to get his dues structure passed. This dragged on for months, and since the Representative Council only met once a month, it meant that Steinhoff was not able to publicize his staff or go ahead with site renovation.

It appeared that Kelman was building up an organization in which he was the sole powerful administrator supported by a Board of relatively powerless individuals in whom he invested formal authority and with whom he built up a bloc of power. It is interesting to note here that Kelman was selected by a screening committee headed by the president of the Representative Council, Helen Barker, who would become Kelman's main ally. In essence, although on the outside it looked as if Kelman's reorganization had made IASC more directly accountable to the Boards of Education who allocated tuition monies and dues for IASC membership, the Representative Council was not a very representative body, and spoke more for itself than as representatives of the Boards and educational organizations of the participating towns.

(d) Changing support from the state. Right before Kelman took over as Executive Director of IASC, Joshua Carr, the Commissioner of Education, felt that IASC was the weak sister of the three main regional agencies and began directing additional funds toward the Winchester County regional center. Kelman also developed a relationship with Carr, accompanying him to conferences and meeting with him in Fairport. Jane Sobel felt that this windfall of funds from the state

was a lucky coincidence to Kelman's benefit, since he was beginning to take credit for turning IASC around financially when in fact this was as much due to the increased aid coming in from the state as to Kelman's effectiveness.

(e) Changes in staff at IASC. While Kelman continued a few of the previous IASC staff, he discontinued a number of them. For Arts Co-op's situation, Jane's dismissal had the greatest impact. Other staff members who felt as Jane did about the role and stance of IASC were made very uncomfortable and encouraged to leave. This left Kelman with a supportive team.

As with his reaction to the Executive Committee, Kelman viewed the Arts Co-op Administrative Council as not being in a legal line relationship to IASC's Executive Director and Representative Council. As a result, he refused to view their recommendations as binding. In the reality of implementation, the governance structure took a quite different form than the one we reviewed in Chart 1.

When the researcher asked Jane Sobel if she felt the planning committee had made any provisions in the governance arrangement for the conflict with Kelman, Jane replied:

> The governance structure said the IASC Director or his designee would basically be responsible for the project. I thought it would be me.

And in January, 1977, David Kelman made it clear how he viewed the governance structure which had been developed by the planning committee. Kelman remarked to Steinhoff that he found the Administrative Council "cumbersome" and saw it as an extra step between the Arts Co-op Director and the IASC Executive Director/Representative Council.

3. The Administrative Council of Arts Co-op. In the following pages, we will briefly examine the workings of the Arts Co-op Administrative Council, and how it came to forfeit, or allow to be usurped, much of its intended power. Why did the Administrative Council turn out to be a weak group? Why did it not do more to fight for its intended role? And why, later on, did it not do more to fight for Arts Co-op and support David Steinhoff and Jane Sobel in the conflict with IASC? After all, most of these same people had been very positive during the Early Planning Period, and strongly supportive of the planning effort. We will come back to these questions as the case progresses. During the Late Planning Period the following were possible contributors to this situation:

a. Weak appointments to the Administrative Council. The planned governance structure had stated that the Council would be composed of the participating superintendents or their designees. The most powerful configuration would have involved all the superintendents directly. But of the six towns, only two (Warren and Adams), sent their superintendents; one (Winchester) sent the Assistant Superintendent.

Although the appointments in the other towns made sense with respect to the planning/implementation continuity, the Administrative Council suffered; these appointments lacked the clout wielded by top level decision makers. This was especially true with respect to the developing conflict with IASC. And further, Jane Sobel considered that the position of the person appointed to the Administrative Council was evidence of the stature accorded to the arts project in each participating town. So lower-status Council members did not feel able to take decisive action.

b. Lack of structural cohesiveness. As the implementation took effect during the Late Planning Period, there was an increased tendency to protect individual town interests over those of the "common good" of the arts program. While one purpose of the Administrative Council was to act as a buffer for the school in relation to its environment, an equally important purpose was to set policy for a regional program, ensuring that no one town's interests were given any more or less weight. The members of the Administrative Council were in a double role: they were asked to protect the best interests of the program and at the same time protect the interests of their own districts. Sometimes these two sets of interests were at odds, and during the Late Planning Period, the latter often prevailed. The effect was to put the towns in a competitive relation to one another, and to put the Administrative Council at odds with the Director of Arts Co-op. There were numerous examples of this in the Administrative Council deliberations:

- Generally, there was the issue of equity in relation to the $1,000 town contributions the superintendents had agreed to that previous May.* The attitude of the Council was that no one town should get more than any other for that $1,000. But this was complicated by the difference in population among the towns, and of the problem in regional projects that the small towns often got more for their money than the cities, since a little bit went a much longer way to addressing the need.

- The program had been planned so that the majority of students would come from Waterton, and the Administrative Council accepted David and Jane's proposal that the number of students from each town be figured on the basis of the size of the district's school population. However, they insisted that once the numbers from each town were agreed upon and calculated, that would be how many students would come from each town. The numbers were not subject to change on the basis of other

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*Steinhoff felt differently about this: "This never became an issue of importance. I disagree."

considerations such as talent or balance in student population.*

Essentially this went against the planners' prioritizing of criteria for student selection, which placed talent as the number one criteria for admission, with all other considerations (including geographical representation) secondary. Thus the political concerns of regionalization took primacy over programmatic concerns and planning goals.**

- As a result of the decision to have set numbers of students from each town David ended up having to admit some students who were slightly less talented while rejecting some who were more talented. After the students had auditioned from each town, David asked the Administrative Council to allow him to admit six extra students, explaining that the budget could support a few extra students since no extra instructor was required. The Council vetoed the request, on the basis that one town (from which most of the extra students would come) would then be getting more for its $1,000.***

- The equity issue and the Diocese. The Diocese, even more strapped for funds than the public school districts, was having a hard time coming up with the money, but had agreed to contribute in-kind. Steinhoff, interested in maintaining as wide support and participation in the project as possible, had recommended that the Council go along with this. Again the Council refused, and one Council member objected strongly:

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* And here Steinhoff felt:

> I think they saw their position as protecting the project...I believe they were most concerned about the impact of these changes on their more parochial lay boards.

** Steinhoff felt that this was true--but

> ...very limited in significance. I believe that later we would have gained this freedom of action. For example, Cocteau never objected when one of his students took half a semester's leave from the project in the second year; he just wanted it kept quiet. He still paid. So did Harkness when a student missed nearly a whole semester for football.

*** Steinhoff viewed this differently:

> No--remember that distribution was inequitable anyway.

Although the sentiment in the text was expressed at the meeting, this may not have been the real reason why Steinhoff's request for extra students was turned down. Steinhoff, in retrospect, saw it more as the Council trying to protect Arts Co-op (and themselves) from charges of inconsistency.

> We shouldn't be the ones picking up the tab for them. If the Boards hear about this, we'll be in trouble.*

c. Program versus politics: tension between Director and Council. As planning decisions got implemented, they ran up against the real political considerations of regionalization, such as the equity issue we have just mentioned. The superintendents and their designees had to be very careful about how their Boards would react to policies they formulated in relation to Arts Co-op; not only did the program depend on the Boards for support and survival, but the administrators were accountable to those Boards. The Administrative Council members were, in effect, on the line about the project in their districts, and tended to react in the Administrative Council as they would in their roles in their own districts, rather than as the specialist individuals they had been during the Early Planning Period.**

But the Arts Co-op Director was, at this stage in the development of the school, a "specialist" - much more concerned with the content and organization of the program than with the politics of its survival; while he took action with regard to the latter and admitted its necessity, he also lost patience with the Administrative Council for continually putting the political issues first. Near the end of an angry meeting at which the Council had rejected his proposal that Arts Co-op be allowed to write grants jointly with one or another of the participating towns (rejected on the basis that the one town would then be in an unequal position to the others, and possibly garnering more of Arts Co-op's energy and resources) Steinhoff exploded:

> Quite frankly, I think this last is a loss to IASC. It would bring in additional resources. I can get money conduited another way. Goddamit! You can't solve every problem in terms of politics. You have to think in terms

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*Reacting to the second sentence of this quote, Steinhoff said,

> This was always a difficult political problem in the area. Still is. Again, I believe, in part, they protected us.

**Jane Sobel commented here that

> Administrators were really making a choice about what they wanted most to protect--and Arts Co-op came in second. Their boards' and communities' perceptions of them as "fiscally responsible," etc. won out. None was willing to risk and find out if perhaps there was more support than they perceived.

> of kids, too. Sometimes you have to face your Boards with courage. At some point you have to do something instead of just worrying about protecting yourselves. I'm not interested in using it as a sales effort, but for its educational purpose. I think we have to see beyond the small political issues. The people pressure you and make you forget that.

In summary, during the Late Planning Period, the Administrative Council was as much a group protecting participating town interests as one protecting the future program. While the Council was in most ways a positive and sensitive group, composed mostly of staunch supporters of the program, there were inherent structural tensions built in which took up a good deal of the group's time during this period. As Charles Cocteau remarked at the end of a tense and conflictful meeting:

> Oh God, all the problems. I didn't know the Administrative Council was going to be like this when I got on it.

The most serious effect of the role ambiguity of the Administrative Council - the protector of whom? - was that the IASC struggle with Arts Co-op went almost unmonitored by the Council. Role ambiguity explains, at least in part, why the Administrative Council allowed its power as the primary policy making body for Arts Co-op to be diluted and usurped by IASC and its Executive Director. For at the same time that the Council was divided among itself and changing in its support of David Steinhoff, David Kelman was stepping up demands for uniformity and accountability from Steinhoff and Arts Co-op, and taking increased control over operational aspects of Arts Co-op, cutting into its autonomy. Steinhoff felt that he could not go to the Administrative Council with these problems, since he was not sure of their full support, and also because he was afraid of sounding like a whining child. In the meantime, Kelman had begun altering decisions made by the Administrative Council (for example, he added a portion of an IASC central staff member's salary to the Arts Co-op budget without consulting the Administrative Council). But because of the Council's non-cohesiveness, the lack of clout from some of the towns' representatives, and the tension between the specialist and the administrators, Kelman's consolidation of decision making power over Arts Co-op went almost unnoticed by the Administrative Council until many steps had already been taken.

Had this attempt to chip away at Arts Co-op's autonomy occurred six months later, after the Council had already gone through its formation pains, would they have allowed it? They potentially had the power to stop this encroachment, although an action might have involved more risk than some would have felt was worth it. And, perhaps most important, most of the Arts Co-op towns were no longer members of IASC, and Kelman did not feel compelled to abide by their wishes.

The result was that David Steinhoff fought Kelman nearly alone (with a lot of help from Jane but without any formal support group) until the opening of school, without the benefit of the influential buffer group the Administrative Council could have been. It was February before the Administrative Council finally began to consider the problem directly.

4. The continuing struggles with IASC. The threat to Arts Co-op autonomy was not an abstract, distant one. Direct evidence appeared daily in the form of demands, constraints, and interference from the regional agency. The conflict between the two Davids was an emotional and personal one, but it reflected and fed the conflict on the institutional level - the power struggle between the specialized needs of the arts program and IASC's demand for uniformity, accountability, and control. The planners for Arts Co-op had assumed that flexibility, informality, and attention to individual and situation-specific needs were key to the success of the program. There was serious disagreement now about how the program should be run and administered.*

(a) Autonomy and accountability. The planners had also assumed that Arts Co-op would essentially be an autonomous organization, in a supportive and positive relationship to IASC, in more of a collegial than an hierarchical way. And the planners had also assumed that Jane Sobel would be the only piece of IASC that would really be closely involved with operational decisions about Arts Co-op. But now there was no more Jane Sobel at IASC and David Kelman was concerned about protecting his position and protecting IASC from the kind of mismanagement charges which had plagued previous administrators. (Those charges, it should be noted, had always been carefully separated from any association with either Jane Sobel or the arts program.) He said flatly that he would not let IASC be used as a "conduit" (that is, merely as an avenue for the outside funds); this comment, made in October, confirmed what Jane and David already suspected - that Arts Co-op would be governed very differently than the planning committee had intended. It was a signal from Kelman that he did not see Arts Co-op as an autonomous, professional, special body in control of its organization with information and support ties to IASC, as the planners had envisioned.**Rather,

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*Jane Sobel added:

> It is perhaps significant to note that what appeared to be conflict over operations and of personalities was, of course, also a basic philosophical difference, but the battle was never truly joined at this level.

**Steinhoff's reading of this was that

> The issue was not who had the power; it was how much IASC was inclined to use its power. The issue was not autonomy for the program, but whether decisions would grow out of the program's needs, or the needs of the larger organization. We assumed that the small size and student population of IASC would mean that the balance would be in favor of flexibility rather than uniformity.

IASC was to be the supervisor of Arts Co-op, with the right to override any decision made by Arts Co-op. Kelman always justified this position by pointing out that he, as Executive Director of IASC, with the Representative Council of IASC, were legally accountable for the project, and thus had the right to make sure that everything was being done as it should be. The Boards of Education participating in IASC tended to support this position, since they had been left holding the bag before when IASC had incurred a large deficit the previous year for which the Boards were liable.

IASC also demanded very specific accountability from the Arts Co-op director and staff. They required Steinhoff to keep a log of his time and for the staff to do the same. They demanded formal lesson plans from the artist-staff. They insisted that Steinhoff use the selection procedures and evaluation procedures designed for the handicapped, although they had no relevance. They required Steinhoff to come to weekly meetings with the other project directors for "support", although Steinhoff felt their concerns were for the handicapped and did not relate to Arts Co-op and the gifted and talented. It later became clear that these meetings were a way to keep Steinhoff in line; pressure was exerted not only by Kelman but by the other project directors not to treat Arts Co-op as a unique program. To complicate the situation, the day of the IASC weekly meeting, Wednesday, was the day David's staff had agreed to hold their weekly meetings; Steinhoff then had to hold two staff meetings each week in order to connect with his full faculty. This further contributed to the segmentation of the Arts Co-op program and hurt efforts to build a tight community among the staff.

(b) Pressure for consistency. In reorganizing IASC, David Kelman was interested in constructing an efficiently run, "cost effective" operation. Systems for everything from payment orders to accountability were devised and put in place. Everything required a formal memo and exact adherence to detail.[15)]

This uniformity was then applied to the projects themselves. Except for one program, all the other projects of direct service to students run by IASC were for the handicapped population. While it was true that the gifted and talented provision was part of the special education law (based on the notion that the gifted and talented are a specialized population with specialized needs), the rest of the legislation referred to handicapped children whose needs, while equally specialized, were still completely different and required different programs from those serving the gifted. For the planners, the special education law served as the enabling legislation, but for Kelman, it was a rationale for lumping the arts program with the other IASC projects (for the handicapped), requiring Arts Co-op to use the same evaluation,

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15) Ironically, despite all these procedures, IASC took little responsibility for paying Arts Co-op's bills on time or approving their proposals for submission in time for deadlines.

curriculum planning, and supervision procedures. Neither NCA's nor CAP's regional agency did this. Jane Sobel challenged Kelman's interpretation of the relationship of the gifted and talented to the handicapped. (January 27, 1977 memo to David Kelman):

> As you know, it is generally understood that programs of this kind differ markedly from those designed to meet the special needs of the handicapped; staff is different - in training, in temperament, and in methodology employed; program needs are different - in materials used, facilities, and distribution of time. Given these differences, the need for uniformity - even in terms of broad outline - for such components as program evaluation, or even staffing practices - does not appear to be based upon the realities of programs for the talented but rather upon a desire to develop procedure and structure. This is of course entirely understandable, but procedures are useful when they further the central goals and objectives of a program or organization, and quite the opposite when they become ends in themselves.

(c) Financial action. The structure of the special education law also enabled Kelman to place Arts Co-op under the supervision of the IASC Director of Special Education, Pat Browning. This last might have been only a minor annoyance* or even a minor aid had Kelman not also charged (without consulting the Administrative Council) the Arts Co-op budget for 1/5 of Browning's salary plus the same percentage for Browning's secretary. The other IASC projects also picked up the same percentage, and Kelman explained that Browning and his secretary would be giving support, expertise, and help to Steinhoff as they did to the other projects. But Browning had no expertise with either innovative programs or programs for gifted and talented students, and the only kind of "support" he provided that year took the form of frequent memos to Steinhoff demanding compliance with new** IASC policies and explaining procedures.

Even more salient was the fact that the Arts Co-op program was clearly underbudgeted, that Kelman was fully aware that money was short, and that this expenditure ($3,800) took service away from the students, since it amounted to about 5 per cent of the total Arts Co-op budget for that period. By February, 1977, a tense struggle had developed

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*"Not true," said Steinhoff on reading this. "Browning had initiated a lot of the small conflicts."

**Steinhoff also felt that

> This is important. New policies were spun out and imposed after we had established our way of operation.

over whether this charging of part of Browning's and his secretary's salary was justifiable. Jane and David (and supporters like Jacob Rute) were on one side, fighting against Kelman and the central staff of IASC. At this point, the Administrative Council began to consider the problem, and supported Steinhoff's stance. They did take a formal vote on a resolution condemning Kelman's action. But they took no other organized group action to this effect. (Later, the budget came up for approval in the Representative Council in February and March and Jane, David, Jacob Rute and Charles Cocteau fought against its being decided in this forum, but despite their politicking efforts, their friends on the Representative Council were outvoted, again by towns not participating in Arts Co-op.)

Kelman made other changes in the Arts Co-op budget, after the budget had already been agreed to by the Administrative Council. As Jane Sobel said in a memo to David Kelman concerning the IASC/Arts Co-op relationship on January 27, 1977:

> ...We will not retain the feeling of ownership so painstakingly built among the participants in this program if the deliberations of the program's Administrative Council appear to be taken lightly. (You will recall that they spent a great deal of time and thought over the budget; when you made changes, however, they had no opportunity to react or comment.)

In fact, Kelman had the legal right to make any changes he pleased, although the planners had never considered this when they had thought about the governance structure. As Jane Sobel implied, Kelman's action, while building up the regional agency, could at the same time threaten the cause of regionalization, by undermining the decisions of the participating superintendents and giving support to those who feared loss of local input into regional decision making. The lesson for the planners: trust and good faith are not enough protection - be paranoid - investigate the legal limits.

(d) Delaying on the future. A more pressing concern in terms of Arts Co-op's long-term survival was that David Kelman and IASC delayed consideration of and action on the expansion of the program; the more towns that participated in Arts Co-op, the more secure its future would be. (NCA, for example, had 16 participating towns.) Some towns had residents and students who were clearly interested in taking part in the program, but Kelman (though he said he would) did not take any systematic action and at the same time made it clear to Steinhoff that this kind of action had to be done through IASC. (One town, Conway, did finally join Arts Co-op, but only because of a student who had learned of the program, auditioned, been admitted, and gone to his Board with his family and legal support to plead his and Arts Co-op's case.)

(e) Putting IASC needs first. Continual interference and putting Arts Co-op's needs second to those of IASC's characterized most other

parts of the relationship.[16] And there were some moves by IASC which seemed purposely intent on undermining David Steinhoff's credibility. For example, at an October 25, 1976 meeting of Kelman, Steinhoff and Jane Sobel on developing the budget for the coming year, Kelman strongly recommended that Steinhoff write in a cost-of-living raise for himself. Steinhoff was reluctant to do this, stating that the director's salary was already high enough ($19,000), and that he didn't want to be accused of topheavy administration. And at the next meeting of the Administrative Council, Kelman again encouraged him to write in the raise, as did some of the superintendents. Steinhoff finally did so. Later, Kelman came back to the Administrative Council with a decision made by IASC and the Representative Council that there were to be no raises for program administrators (although Kelman himself asked for and got a substantial raise), thus making Steinhoff look foolish and self-serving in the eyes of the Representative Council and distorting the entire sequence of events.

Jane Sobel recognized that:

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16 During the summer of 1976, IASC was forced to move and went through three offices in the space of the same number of months. Kelman wanted Steinhoff's office located at the IASC office. Steinhoff was not happy about this, preferring to be at the program itself, but was willing to go along if both program and office were located in Waterton. This was a critical need, both for the goal of integration and because the Superintendent of Waterton had said to both Steinhoff and Kelman at different times that "if Arts Co-op leaves Waterton, then Waterton leaves Arts Co-op." Kelman had asked Steinhoff to wait until IASC had found its office space, and for the summer and beginning of September, Steinhoff made hundreds of phone calls from the local diner and used his car as his filing cabinet. When it looked as if IASC were settling on offices either in Winchester or Marston, Steinhoff went ahead and took an office on the University of Waterton campus. In commenting on the draft of the case here, Steinhoff said:

> Being denied a stable location (prearranged for by the planning committee) at this critical stage in development was very embittering for me. It could have caused the project serious harm. I had no phone number when staff and advisors were being sought.

Similar interactions took place over insurance, a typewriter, telephone, and other small but important operational needs. The Title IV-c grant money, due in August, did not arrive until October, due to a problem at IASC. IASC did little to straighten out the problem with the State Dept. office which dispensed the funds. And although Kelman moved other monies around within IASC to pay his other Title IV-c project, Arts Co-op's bills and salaries went unpaid.

> It will never be a good relationship between David and David. They just don't talk the same language. But Arts Co-op is going to succeed.

To that end, part of her January 27, 1977 memo to Kelman asked that he:

> consider the entire situation with an eye to increasing flexibility, de-formalizing to the greatest extent possible, and providing the many kinds of practical support which could free an overburdened program staff to expend their energies on meeting the needs of a new project and of students, and truly help to guarantee Arts Co-op's success.

Kelman never responded to Jane's memo, and by the end of the Late Planning Period there was no sign that the conflict between IASC and Arts Co-op would abate. By the time opening date arrived, David Steinhoff was exhausted, preoccupied, and as he said, "tired of fighting."

So, in summary: by the end of the Late Planning Period, the needs of building up the IASC organization became pitted against the needs of

starting up the Arts Co-op organization.[17a)]

Specialists fought against administrators during this period, pulling between program needs and political considerations. Attempts to standardize procedures and policies in IASC conflicted with the specialized needs of the new arts program.

Changes in IASC made by its new director had a severe impact on the intended governing structure for Arts Co-op. David, Joan and Arts Co-op found they had little protection against infringements of planning agreements, and were still afraid to go too public about the conflict; the Administrative Council was not really cognizant of the conflict until the very end of this period, when it began to be clear that their role and power were indeed being threatened by IASC.

The governance structure was one big unanticipated area of ambiguity in the original plan. It had been so carefully worked out, with textbook participation, written records, and satisfaction by all participating stakeholders. But this was not enough protection.

The Administrative Council sessions were an exhibit of the prepotency of local district interests, but the conflict with IASC began to show evidence that the central (regional) agency was overriding decisions of the local districts involved, the very thing the local districts feared.

5. Obtaining resources. The major problem at the start of the Late Planning Period was that the program was severely underbudgeted. The initial Title IV-c budget was insufficient to begin with; the situation was made worse by a decision in the Title IV-c office in July, 1976 that the grant must be considered an operational grant (since the school would be open for one semester of the funding period), not a planning grant, as the planners had intended. The funding formula, which allowed a maximum of one year of planning funds and three of operational grants, decreased operational grants by 25 per cent

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17a) The account preceding tends to see the conflict primarily from the angle of David, Jane and the Arts Co-op enterprise. After all, that is what we were studying. And the collaborative research relationship, starting well, had become closer. So there is perhaps a tendency to see David Kelman as acting unjustly, arbitrarily, and unsympathetically. We should stress that from his point of view he was strengthening IASC as an agency. He had not been a party to the planning, and Arts Co-op was simply one of five projects. And it is entirely possible that he saw David Steinhoff as usurping his power. (Certainly the concept of power struggle between the two Davids explains more than the rational content of what they were arguing about.) Our identification with Arts Co-op as an interesting and noble enterprise should not cloud the fact that David Kelman's interests in building IASC were legitimate and useful ones.

each of the second two years, so that local initiative would pick up increasing amounts. The planning grant was intended to cover only one semester of operation, and was thus a smaller request than an operational grant would have been. Unable to convince the Title IV-c office to let them rewrite the grant as an operational grant, Jane and David immediately realized that their second and third operational years would now be severely hampered by a too-low starting figure. Ironically, Jane Sobel said she suspected that had they written the grant as an operational grant for more money, they would have had an equally good chance of getting funded.

David Steinhoff's assessment, on the basis of fairly extensive experience with proposals and project funding, was that this was a $100,000 project. NCA and the Capital Arts Program both had started with budgets at least $50,000 more than that, and NCA had an additional $500,000 for site renovation.[17b] Arts Co-op would be lucky if its budget (with Title IV-c and the Arts Commission grant) reached $75,000, covering everything.

At first, there seemed to be little chance of getting any additional money. And Rob Harkness, Superintendent of Adams, emphasized what the participating towns, the Administrative Council, and the Representative Council had laid down for all IASC projects: "<u>there must be no deficit</u>."

Jane and David tried to get additional Title IV-c funds, first by exploring an informal route through the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education. They then found there was a formal application route and applied for an additional $20,000. The Title IV-c Council which considered the request included the Superintendent of Waterton, but the other members knew very little about Arts Co-op. A site visit by a task force of the Title IV-c Council to the Arts Co-op office made David Steinhoff suspect that some of them had not even read the Arts Co-op Title IV-c proposal. Arts Co-op was turned down for additional funds in December, 1976. There was apparently some feeling that Arts Co-op had enough money with the Arts Commission grant, and that they were covering budget items twice. This was not the case. Some observers hypothesized that by first trying an informal route through influential people, Arts Co-op may have alienated the IV-c office which was properly in charge of the matter.

Looking around for other sources of funding, David sought advice from Sandy Wilson, who had brought in large amounts of outside funds to start an arts program in the city. Wilson, a member of the Arts Co-op Advisory Committee, reeled off lists of possibilities, emphasizing that there was a lot of money going into the gifted and talented these days.

17b) In addition, NCA runs a substantial deficit ($30,000) each year, which their regional agency makes up.

But David's efforts were inhibited by Waterton's bad standing on integration with the federal government. And many agencies insisted that the program be operational for a year before it could qualify for funds.

David did make a trip to Washington to discuss future funding possibilities. But he felt there were few options. Like the planners, Steinhoff had said from the time of his interview that he disliked relying on outside funding. And although he was concerned about the risk of program termination with the end of funding, David's stance was also based on his feeling that these "gold coast" towns could well afford to support such a program.

Relying on outside money rather than locally allocated tuitions had both positive and negative effects on the planning and implementation. With federal/state funding, certain local restrictions - e.g., certification requirements - could be circumvented. In addition, outside money for the first year gave them the chance to prove the worth of their program; Jane Sobel had always warned the planning group about the difficulty of getting Board money committed to an untried project. But on the negative side, in addition to fears that the project could die when funding ceased, outside funding complicated and exacerbated the equity problem of local districts' sharing resources in a regional project. Tuition financing would have meant that each town paid for as many students as it could send, plain and simple. Outside funding meant that, at least in this first year, it fell on the Administrative Council and the Arts Co-op Director to determine how many students could come from each town, and to devise a system where each town felt it was getting as much as the next, taking into account differences in size of population as well as intangible questions of need.

Finally, an outside grant administered through IASC meant that Arts Co-op was actually more accountable to IASC than it was to the participating towns.

This last problem was complicated by the $1,000 contribution toward matching the Arts Commission grant made by each participating Board of Education. Since it was a flat contribution instead of being based on the number of students, the equity of who got what for that $1,000 became an issue: in order for the planners to fulfill their goals and mandates (integrated student body, identification of potential as well as development of talent, "not another school for white affluent kids"), Waterton had to send the most students, thereby deriving more benefit from the project and the same thousand dollars.

Getting the contribution from the Boards was not easy. Even though it was a comparatively small amount, Board members realized that because of the Title IV-c formula, the allocation would increase dramatically in ensuing years. Charles Cocteau reported that he had had to admit to his Board that next year's allocation would be closer to $10,000. The Board asked: "Couldn't we do more for those kids right here in Winchester with that money?"

Thus, the project was short on money but under a great deal of pressure to prove itself nevertheless. Out of necessity, David became extremely tightfisted, and picked up a lot of travel and materials expenses out of his own pocket. He predicted that "we will have a very tough time of it, and if we make it, it will be by the skin of our teeth." He tried to emphasize to potential students and supporters that "we don't have a lot of material wealth, but we will have a lot of human wealth." The lack of money was, in one way, a challenge to show what could be done with very little.

But the tight budget did exact a very real toll on the developing social system. Staff resented the low pay, (partly the result of an initial computation error in the proposal which reduced the hourly pay from $13 to $12; this was further cut by David Kelman, to $10); in contrast to private rates (a music teacher could get $15 - $30 per hour) or the rates paid by the Arts Commission, the Arts Co-op pay was below scale.*

Steinhoff felt constrained about holding staff meetings or get-togethers, because he had to pay everyone and this was expensive; so meetings were fewer and concentrated on nitty-gritty issues rather than staff building and philosophy development. There was no money to spend time reaching a common view among the divergent approaches of the staff before school opened; and once the program started, the entire faculty of the school was never in on the same day, and rarely was able to get together as a group. Of course, the limited money for supplies and equipment was the biggest programmatic hindrance to the new arts program, though the staff doubled their creative efforts in using available, cheap, and "found" objects as much as possible. And finally, the director and the staff to a lesser extent, constantly worried about the money situation. So along with the emotional and bureaucratic pressure from the IASC struggle, a tightly stretched budget contributed to a startup fraught with anxiety and tension.

6. Gaining support and endorsement. Gaining support and endorsement from the lay, artistic, and educational communities was a critical need during the Late Planning Period for three reasons:

(a) The need to gain financial commitment from the participating Boards of Education. Even though the first semester would be almost wholly supported by outside funds, it was important that the towns make some tangible commitment at the very start of the project and develop a sense of ownership. And while this year's contribution from the Boards was only $1,000 each, this amount would increase in subsequent years as outside funding decreased and ultimately ended. The planners had always reasoned that it would be easier to get a budget line if the requested amount were small. And once in the budget, it would be easier to get funds the following year. The planners needed the support of the Boards of Education and local citizens to ensure the future financial support of the arts program.

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*On the other hand, Steinhoff pointed out in his reading of the case that "NCA pays less...The problem was we could not get top staff from Waterton, and had to go afield. Only seven out of 15 people came from the local area."

(b) The need to recruit and identify students. Students had to find out about Arts Co-op. Students who might be potentially talented but unaware of or unsure about their talent had to be spotted and encouraged to apply. Talented students who might have been turned off by the regular school and were out of the mainstream had to be located. Three to five per cent of the school population was supposed to be talented, and the Late Planners had to make their best effort to find these students among all the 10th and 11th graders from all 14 of the sending schools. The Late Planners needed the help of the central offices, administrations and faculties of the sending schools and districts to publicize the program and get the word out to students; and they specifically needed the help of arts teachers and guidance counselors (as well as parents, citizens, and other students) to identify talented and potentially talented students. As David Steinhoff remarked, "Recruitment is a problem politically because it demonstrates interest in the program and interest in the arts."

(c) The need to identify and select staff. The success of the program depended largely on finding a high-quality staff of practicing artists. But since the program had neither great pay nor wonderful facilities and resources, the recruitment of a quality staff depended in part on how aware the arts community was of Arts Co-op, and how necessary they believed such a program to be. This was most particularly a problem with the Black and Hispanic arts organizations and artists, since the planners, despite their political sensitivities, were mostly White and not from the inner city community; their connections and affiliations were more with the suburbs and nearby cities. And having minority staff was important to the goal of integration within the program. David Steinhoff needed to make these connections, and to seek suggestions for staff from artists, arts supporters, and people who knew artists. A balance between local artists and those from out of state was important in maintaining the support of the local arts community.

As a response to these needs, the Late Planners took the following kinds of actions aimed at specific audiences.

(a) Toward the general community, they:

- Initiated the formation of a "Friends of Arts Co-op" group, a sort of arts patrons support group, as an outgrowth of the planners' community involvement committee. David appointed a former Junior League president to chair it. The Friends made presentations and sought contributions and support from community groups, arts organizations, school groups (PTAs, etc), banks, businesses, and civic organizations.

- Ran a public relations campaign, advertising the program on radio stations, giving press releases. But the Late Planners soon found that public relations was of a very delicate nature. Inevitably, someone would not be given due credit in a newspaper article and would call up angry at the omission. For example, the planners began to lose Chuck Gould's support when he called up angry after the first big article because he, his office, and

the State Department of Education had not been given proper credit. Finally, even though there was little intentional distortion of fact, a few of the newspaper accounts badly misquoted or misrepresented the arts project. David quickly learned never to give interviews or statements over the phone. *

- Printed and distributed a bi-lingual flier containing information about Arts Co-op.

(b) Toward the arts community they:

- Held a "Box Supper" picnic in September at the Eastern Players Theater in Warren drawing together local artists and arts supporters. The purposes of the gathering were to bring the arts community up to date on Arts Co-op and to enlist their aid in building the Friends group, raising matching funds for the Arts Commission grant, involving more Blacks and Hispanics, and getting suggestions for staff. Before the evening had ended, people had signed up on lists to help with the above. One Black Waterton artist testified to the need for the program, saying that he had needed such a program when he was in high school and had only made it then with the help of a guidance counselor (Alice Pirsky of the planning committee).

- Formed and convened the Advisory Committee. The Box Supper had aimed at the local arts community. The Advisory Committee aimed at the statewide arts community, with some connections to the city and Washington. The group, chosen by David Steinhoff, had a dual function: to give advice, suggestions, and help in the design, substance and staffing of the program; and to serve as influential lobbyists and representatives of various arts and education interests. The Committee, which met twice during the Late Planning Period, included Margaret Howard Stanley (Arts Commissioner and Eastern Players Theater), Sam Taylor (a highly respected Black Waterton multidisciplinary and visual artist), Sandy Wilson (the head of the performing arts program in a district in the city, with numerous connections to national arts funding and Washington), Shirley Browne (the State Department Consultant for Dance), Albert Artesio (from the Screening Committee, a principal, and violinist), and Jane Sobel. They were less helpful as a group than on a one-to-one basis during the Late Planning Period.

(c) Toward the lay education community, they:

- Made presentations to Boards of Education, called up Board members, talked up the program in the sending towns.

(d) Toward the parents, they:

- Held a meeting in January, prior to opening to introduce themselves and Arts Co-op to the parents of incoming students.

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* Jane had known this and cautioned David always to write up statements before giving them. In the hectic times of that period, however, David was not always able to do that.

(e) Toward the sending schools, they:

- Met first with the principals, then with the administrators and faculties of all the sending schools, sometimes more than once. In addition to publicity and identification, their support was needed to coordinate the scheduling and other problems of students spending half their time at Arts Co-op and half at their regular sending schools.

- Established a formal link with each sending school by having the school appoint a staff member to be the liaison with Arts Co-op. David used this person as the main aid in setting up meetings with faculty and students, for getting the identification, application, and audition processes publicized and set in the school, and for general support. Some of the liaisons were very helpful; others paid lip service support but did little.

- Met with arts faculty in the relevant areas, including music, art, English, and drama (there was no dance in the sending schools). The major purpose was to listen to their concerns, deflate some of their hostility and defensiveness about losing their best students, and make clear how Arts Co-op would differ from what they offered and what kind of student might be suited to Arts Co-op. The planners' anticipation and understanding of resistance from this area did not ward it off. Typical comments from arts teachers and other faculty included:

  You'll be taking all our most talented kids.

  What do you have in your program that we can't offer here?

  I see what's going out, but I don't see what's coming back in.

  This is the third program I've heard about that is taking students out of the school. I feel besieged by so many people coming in. Where are we going?

  What if our Board of Education takes all the money that's allocated to the arts and gives it to you?

  From the school peoples' perspective, there was much to worry about. There were some who favored the project, but in most cases it was conditional support and few would have gone out on a limb for the new project. As one sending school drama teacher said, "I'll support you this year, but if you blow it I don't even know the program next year."

Despite all their efforts, gaining support and visibility was an uphill struggle. Some of this was due to the passive resistance of individuals and groups whose interests were in some way threatened by the new school. But as much was due to the difficulty of publicizing something which hadn't happened yet. Said Steinhoff,

> I did not want to over-inflate expectations, concerned that growth would be slow and undramatic.

David also faced another dilemma: how to present the uncertainties in the program. Insecurity about site, resources, program, and support ran high in the Late Planning Period. When David began his rounds in the area, little was set, money was short, there was no site, no staff, no students, no program. David had confidence about working out some - but not all - those problems. He said it was a question of:

> How honest should I be with people? It's a very tenuous business and I tell people that, but I don't know that it's such a smart idea. I think maybe that as a director I have to come across as a lot more optimistic and certain than I might feel. The Title IV-c money will barely make it for one semester this year; next year we're going to have to cover two semesters with less money. We'll only be getting 75 per cent of this year's allocation, so the towns are going to have to pay a lot of money in tuition.

And although David spent the Late Planning Period incessantly talking to people and recruiting support, in most cases the exchange basis of those contacts tended to be somewhat unbalanced in the beginning. For the most part, it was David and Arts Co-op who needed something (support, money, students, staff suggestions). David in turn had to convince people to believe that Arts Co-op would give something back eventually. Also, as David said, the "integration goal could not be depended upon to win friends. We played it down and emphasized 'talent'."

David (and Jane) did a great deal of political strategizing, and used a variety of techniques, both conscious and not. Most of what David did at this time had some implications for the survival of Arts Co-op. Sometimes he was accurate, skillful, and on target, and other times he missed completely. In general, David was less sensitive and skillful than Jane had been during the early planning period in successfully developing strategies to win support, neutralize resistance and avoid alienating people. Of course, Jane had dealt largely with the more supportive elements during the early planning; David had to confront all those potential resisters to whom the planners had only referred. And the rapidity and frequency with which David had to make strategic decisions increased the margin of error. Still, David often acted hastily, or without attention to the consequences of his actions. A complimentary thank you note to Chuck Gould which praised Gould in contrast to the rest of the State Department of Education got David in trouble with Gould, with those he had criticized in the State Department, and with David Kelman who forbade Steinhoff to make any further contacts with the State Department without going through Kelman first.

Against IASC Steinhoff tended to react emotionally; in retrospect (a year in operation) Steinhoff felt he might have succeeded better with IASC had he not been so quick to fight back when a goal or planning assumption was challenged by the regional agency. On the other hand, he was afraid that if he gave an inch they would take a mile.

In summary, there was a great deal of activity around gaining and maintaining support for the program. As implementation approached, hundreds of contacts had been made, much information had been distributed, but there were still students who hadn't heard about the program, sending school staffs that felt threatened by it, Boards who were doubting, and citizens who were unaware.

Social-architectural design: the internal system. During the Early Planning Period, the planners had laid down the skeleton of the structure - that the half-time program would have five art areas, a staff of practicing artists, and a director. During the Late Planning of pre-operational period, the skeleton was refined and "fleshed out." Decisions were made about the organizational plan (including climate, goals, staff/student relationships, grading, attendance, and internal governance); and about "peopling" (recruiting staff and students). And although many linkages were made between the planning and implementation, a number of the staff did not have a very clear or unified idea of the goals and vision for the school prior to its opening.

There were two things happening concurrently in this period. The Director and his newly chosen staff (who did not all come on board at the same time) were making conscious decisions about the social system of the program, - what they wanted the school to be like. At the same time, an organic, non-rational, and non-conscious process was occurring - the social organization was developing as the result of people's coming together for a common purpose.

In this section, we will look at the following pieces of the social architectural design and developing social system:

1. The structure of the program
2. Selecting the staff
3. Selecting the students
4. Vision clarification and organizational design
5. Summary: The nature of the system

1. The structure of the program. By the opening day, decisions made by the planners, director, staff, and Administrative Council had laid the groundwork for two of the main characteristics of the organizational structure: centrality and segmentation. In addition, decisions combined with certain conditions in the environment and historical patterns to produce the third characteristic of the program: its vulnerability to the outside. How did the basic parameters laid down by the early and late planners get translated into these particular structural conditions?

(a) The centrality of the director. The centrality of the director was partly a result of a decision made by the Administrative Council to veto a proposed "artist-assistant". This person would have functioned as an assistant director, covering for David when necessary, sharing the burden of responsibility, working substantively with the program and providing linkages between director and staff, among staff, and among

art areas. The Administrative Council, concerned that this would make for a top-heavy administration, rationalized that a good secretary could perform many of the same functions at a lower cost.

The effects of this decision can only be assumed, but it undoubtedly exacerbated the characteristic isolation of the leader in new systems (Sarason, 1972). It gave David no colleagues who formally shared his administrative concerns and worries (which, given the conflict with IASC, the funding situation, and the structural fragility of the enterprise, were numerous). It added to David's natural style of making decisions alone, and his unwillingness to really trust anyone else with these matters since no one else was truly responsible. There was also no one else besides the secretary who would be there more than a few hours two or three times a week.

The centrality of the director was further delineated by a decision of the Administrative Council not to have any department or area chairpersons. David had wanted them, in order to have a core staff to coordinate program and staff within each area, and to cut down on the amount of management and coordination he would have to do. But the Administrative Council was worried about the development of a hierarchy in the school, which they did not want.[18] As it turned out, this decision meant that David's dealings with the staff were generally on a one-to-one basis, with little linkage among the individual members of the staff; furthermore, power was not shared formally with any other staff members, as it would have been had there been a core group of coordinators. Linkages among the staff were generally made informally, before and after class, on the telephone, less often in person, and more often than not on non-paid time.

(b) Segmentation of the program. The program was segmented in several ways. First the half-time nature of the program (a given) divided the students' days, splitting them between their sending schools in the mornings and Arts Co-op in the afternoons. This would prove to be a strain on the students in terms of homework, after-school jobs, rescheduling problems, and competition for their talents. It also meant that the staff only came in in the afternoons, since they were paid by the hour, while David and the secretary were there all day, widening the structural separation between the administration and the staff of artists.

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18) This seems to be a theme in the creation of innovative settings with a human relations thrust. In two of our other sites, open space schools with team teaching, decisions were made to not have team leaders. This prevented the development of a hierarchy, but it also prevented effective communication and coordination, and placed team members in positions of role ambiguity and conflict when leadership and delegation of tasks was necessary.

Because of scheduling and the tight budget, staff would almost never be in the school all at once. After David Kelman, just before opening, insisted that Steinhoff attend the Wednesday IASC directors' meetings, Steinhoff was forced to hold two staff meetings weekly. Not surprisingly, the "Monday" staff and the "Thursday" staff ended up with very different feelings about the program.

Most important, the program's separation into five separate and distinct art areas shaped the segmented nature of the school. Staff were chosen to be part of one art area or another, without crossover from one art area or another. Several of the staff were hired because of their interdisciplinary attitudes toward art, but they were still confined to one art area. Students also were admitted to only one art area; there were several students who tried out for more than one art area, but they were selected for one only.

No students were admitted initially because they were "interdisciplinary"; all had to prove facility in one area. The faculty of each art area was responsible for selecting its own students, and only they attended the auditions of the students in their area; this differed from NCA's process of having the entire faculty choose the entire student body. David deviated from the NCA model (because it would have been too expensive for Arts Co-op to afford to pay all the staff for all of the audition time).* The students and staff within each art area thus had a basic structural cohesion and encapsulation which did not immediately apply to the program as a whole. (In most ways, the grouping within art areas would replace the grouping according to sending town. There did remain some basic divisions within the student body according to sending town, but this had been such an explicit concern of the planners that the implementers were better prepared for this.)

And there would be additional fragmentation for many of the students. The five art areas were further subdivided either simply because there were different teachers for different days of the week, (as in theater), or because of different offerings within each area (music was divided into voice and instrumental, with classes held in theory, ear training, and jazz; visual arts was divided into sculpture and painting/drawing; creative writing into fiction and non-fiction; dance into ballet, modern, and jazz). Students in each area participated in some or all of the experiences offered.

Finally, the site which was secured for the program emphasized the segmentation into art areas. When the fire marshal turned thumbs down on the small but cozy Starr Hall, David and Jane's last-minute search for space left them with several equally distressing options. One was another campus building, actually quite lovely but requiring a very large investment of money and risk; or dispersed classrooms, with terrible facilities but no risk. David chose the latter, which were low-ceilinged basement classrooms for the dance and drama groups, in one building, a basement art studio in another

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*Steinhoff added in his comments that NCA did not continue this practice after the first year.

(which leaked and froze through the fall and winter), and several other rooms in two other buildings for creative writing and voice. Art areas were separated. There was very little common space, and no real physical identity as "Arts Co-op".*

Linkages across these numerous structural divisions were fairly weak. One day each week was consigned to "interdisciplinary" activity, but the whole interdisciplinary concept was vague, difficult to implement, and not owned by a majority of the staff. An outside theater games group was invited by David for the first week of school to lead the entire school in group building exercises, but the staff partially resented the director's decision to bring in outsiders when they wanted to establish an insiders feeling in the program.

(c) Vulnerability to the outside. Because it was a program of a group of towns instead of just one educational district, it was likely to face more scrutiny, (because districts wanted to be sure it was up to their standards, and would all send people to view the program). And because it had and cultivated many stakeholders (in the artistic, educational, and lay communities) interested in its outcome, it was likely to be closely watched on a large variety of issues.

The financing plan for the program was fragile, and its future depended on the districts eventually picking up the costs in full. Given the general stringent fiscal situation and resistance to increased educational spending, districts wanted to take a very careful look before allocating funds. The program faced termination yearly.

The lack of support from IASC increased this vulnerability. The planners had conceived that IASC would be an umbrella providing protection and buffering from the environment when that was necessary. Instead, IASC turned out to be an adversary, providing more threat than protection, and did not take active steps when Arts Co-op long-term survival concerns arose (such as about expanding enrollment and getting more districts involved).**

In summary, the formal structure of the program did not make it easy to support the building of a tight community within the school. Threats from the outside could have the effect of increasing the cohesion of the internal system, but only if the internal system could get together first. Despite low visibility in relation to gaining support and resources, the program would be highly visible and under a great deal of scrutiny once it opened, increasing the pressures on the new organization.

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* Still, as Steinhoff pointed out in his comments,"it was important to kids and parents that we were at a university."

**In fact, David Kelman and Pat Browning actually talked Steinhoff and the program down to school administrators. The following year, Kelman told the heads of the parents' organization that he "would not send his kid to Arts Co-op."

2. Selecting the staff. Gathering together a faculty of practicing artists was not an easy task. Somehow the planners had assumed that these artists would be fairly well established or supported. The reality was that many artists who did not need the money were either already overcommitted or not interested in the job; furthermore, even those who had made names for themselves still struggled for their financial support and had to deal with the fairly low level of priority given to the arts in society. So, many of the potential staff who fit David's basic criteria turned out to be quite young and, frankly, quite broke. Others needed more regular support because of children and family responsibilities.

And because the school was only half-time and there was less than half-time work available for each staff member, the artists had to find other jobs in the area to make it worth their while. But there was just not that much available, and it appeared to be very difficult for the artists to find other work to fill up the rest of the time without exorbitant traveling. Said David,

> I wish we could get our dance person. I've had person after person lined up and they are all good but they all can't do it for some reason or another. It's usually financial; most have other jobs or live far away and can't line up enough other positions in our area.

There was a further burden for staff who came from the city or other parts of the state where the travel costs often amounted to ¼ of a day's pay. And as we have mentioned, Arts Co-op rates were below the scale of both private lessons and other special arts projects (e.g., State Arts Commission projects).

David was looking for a staff that was sensitive to kids, flexible, varied, and top quality. He sought staff who were, in his view, "mature people who were secure and make themselves known to kids." He wanted people who could conceptualize about their art and about the arts and articulate this to the students either verbally or through their art form. He wanted people who were open to the interdisciplinary approach. He felt it was important that there be sufficient numbers of minority artists on the staff, to serve as identifiable models for the minority students and as a balance to the primarily White perspective of the planners and main implementers. Thus class and ethnic considerations did come into play (David felt one prospective applicant was too rigidly upper middle class, for instance); but ultimately, David made his decisions on the abilities, approaches, and attitudes of the individuals, with their social positions a secondary factor.

In the fall of 1976, David went through dozens of suggestions for staff. He activated every contact in his network who might be able to provide names for staff and guidance for program development. He used planning committee members, State University faculty, Department of Education specialists, people from the Arts Commission and other arts organizations, arts schools in the area, local art contacts from the meetings held by the planners, and friends from Northtown and the city. Artists recommended each other if they themselves were not available or interested. It was an arduous process. Time was short and dead ends were frequent. And, David lamented:

> There hasn't been time to work out the staff ingredient-by-ingredient. Instead, I've had to throw it all into the pot at once, and hope that it comes out.

(a) The divergence of approaches among the faculty. David's major concern had to be how good a potential staff member was in his/her own right; he had neither a large pool of choices nor the time to worry about how they would fit with each other and the whole - this could be worked on later. Some of the staff had very traditional ideas about the education of talented youngsters, and some had very unconventional and non-traditional ideas.

And although staff were given some orientation by David in their interviews for the positions, and by Jane Sobel at the first staff meeting (an oral history with emphasis on the goals and implementation concerns), the staff were not blank sheets waiting to be filled in. As artists themselves they had their own, strongly-held beliefs about what a developing artist needs. These were not always congruent with the planned goals or with what the Director believed to be the best interests of the program.

(b) Hiring the staff. When Jane had developed the budgets for the proposals, she wrote in the staff as consultants rather than regular salaried staff, with the idea that this would provide flexibility for the director and allow the school to bring in practicing artists in a variety of arrangements. By the time of the Late Planning Period, this had been translated into the idea of a core staff, with a faculty member for each of the specialities in each area, with visiting artists coming in and out. But the pay was hourly, there were no fringe benefits and no job security. In order to pay people as consultants, David had to submit staff resumes for approval to the Representative Council. There were no contracts and no procedures for hiring and firing; David held this power. Essentially, this made for a situation of centrality and concentration of power within the director position; at the same time, the staff were not very well compensated for their

time and had no formal rights or protection.*

David gave his main music person (Milton Ziegler) control over the selection of the rest of the music staff; in all other art areas, David chose the individuals himself. Sometimes it took David a long time to decide, and in one case this caused problems: In hiring Carole, the visual arts teacher and a very successful painter and teacher in the area, David had wavered back and forth, not sure if she was the person he wanted for this program. He kept her hanging for several months during the fall, during which time she participated in the staff meetings and student auditions, deferring to the recommendations of her visual arts colleagues since she was not formally hired. Finally, she had had enough waiting, and told David she no longer wanted the job. David had just made a decision to hire her, and after negotiation and cajoling, she agreed to stay on. We will see more of this story later.

Finally, by January, David had the staff with which he would open the school. These included:

Iris Blumen, Drama
Steven Farmer, (Drama - directing esp)
Milton Ziegler (Music - main person. Ear training, theory, percussion)
Barry Greene (Music - voice teacher. Cantor.)
John Berlin (Music - jazz teacher. Saxaphonist)
Beth Baum (Music - composition)
Marianne Grey (Music - ear training. Specialist in Kodaly method)
Carole Barzini Carter (Visual arts. Painting and drawing. Painter)
Rob Wolfe (Visual arts. Sculpture. Teacher at local community college.)
Jack Friendly (Dance - ballet)
Jan Calder (Dance - modern and jazz)
J.R. Morello (Creative writing. Poet)
Georgette Falaise (Creative writing. Wrote children's books.)

(c) Developing the program. David gave the staff for each area nearly complete control over the design of the curriculum, the selection of students and the scheduling of their teaching commitments. David did not consider himself an expert in any of the art forms except perhaps creative writing. He had good advisors in dance (among them Joan Blackburn from the planning committee), and felt fairly secure that even with the "levels of training" problem within one dance group, it would be much more effective than the little currently offered in the sending

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* Steinhoff felt differently about this issue. In his comments he said:

> I don't agree, now at least. The rate was the highest of NCA, CAP, and Arts Co-op.

But the staff grumbled about the money and lack of benefits.

schools. He had done work with theater. He felt somewhat unsure about what a program for visual arts should look like and felt extremely vulnerable about the music program, commenting on numerous occasions that this was the area he knew the least about and the one in which Arts Co-op was most directly in competition* with the sending school system.

The pattern that began to emerge as the year wore on was as follows: where David felt he had expertise, he invoked greater power over individual art areas; where he felt insecure about his knowledge or power, he granted greater autonomy. By the end of the first semester, the non-music staff perceived that the music department was accorded a privileged status, while some other art areas were subject to greater criticism and threat of non-continuation of staff. We will return to this conflict throughout the rest of the case, since it revolves around the issue of the generalist administrator versus the specialist staff. But this time, David Steinhoff pivots from his stance as specialist in relation to IASC to become the generalist administrator in relation to his own staff.

3. Selecting the students. The planners had outlined a selection process which relied on audition and interview rather than standardized creativity tests or formal portfolios. David and the staff did the final design for the tryouts, holding auditions in each of the sending towns. The auditions began with a group interview/discussion with the applicants in each art area, so students would be able to get a sense of whether the program was right for them. This was followed by a larger group interdisciplinary exercise designed to give further insights into the students' behavior, needs, and talent. Finally, there were separate auditions and interviews for each individual student. Decisions were then made by the faculty in each art area, and reported to David who made the final decisions. The decisions then had to be approved by "planning and placement teams", or "PPTs" (specialists and guidance people, normally used for special education placement) in each of the ending towns.

(a) Criteria and method. The audition process was designed the first time the staff met as a full group on October 5, 1976. The staff quickly developed a good sense of the kind of student they were looking for. David started off the discussion by posing the following question:

> This is a project for highly creative and talented kids. How about if we brainstorm about what this means to us?

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*According to Peter in his comments, "The issue was more that there are very clear measures of legitimacy and quality that could be used by jealous music teachers."

Slowly at first, but with increasing rapidity, the staff listed the following desirable qualities:

> Interested, curious, thinking, active, different, sense of humor, loves, experiments, tries out, risks, daring, adventurous, emotional, sensitive, listens, interacts, insecure, questions, evaluates, passionate, excessive, controlled, wallowing, courageous, wild, searching, improvising, open, uncomfortable, fearless, capricious, bold.

Some of the students, it was agreed, might be those who were "bad" in school, stifled by the lack of outlet for their creativity, frustrated at their failures in other areas.

The staff outlined what they would be looking for in students, and in their audition pieces:

- Music: "The real criteria for music is the ability to hear. an untrained kid would have it too; it's something you're born with."

- Creative writing: "I won't know until I see it. An interesting phrase, an idea. I don't mean to be flip, but it's hard to articulate. Also, and less important, I would like to know what they know about literature, what writers they like, what they read. If they are inspired by other art forms, how often they write. Who they show their work to, how they feel about being published."

- Visual arts: "I'm looking for balance, rhythm."

- Drama: "I'm looking for openness and range, the ability to show emotions. Great actors are those who can show a great range of feelings."

- Dance: "I'm looking for a wholeness of expression. The projection, the meaning, the subject matter. I know it when I see it, though it's hard to say in advance. Harmony, line, balance. How they respond and repeat. What is the potential of the body? If they have some sense of an emoting element."

While the staff was planning for the auditions of students at this first staff meeting, their discussions also revealed a great deal to the others about themselves. Although there was a good deal of camaraderie and excitement at the meeting, the gathering turned out to be a conflictful one, because the staff members were in very different places about the interdisciplinary approach. This disagreement surfaced in the discussions which planned for the actual audition process.

David very strongly felt that an interdisciplinary exercise which had been recommended by Margaret Howard Stanley (who acted as a process consultant[19]), should be part of the audition. A number of the staff members objected, unable to see how this would help them decide whom to choose. They were also concerned that a student might feel threatened in such an ambiguous group process situation. Barry Greene, the voice teacher, kept referring to the introverted musician who hides behind his instrument. The concerns went something like this:

> Milton (music): My feeling is that if a kid comes in and is a great performer, a great musician, I don't care whether he can do an interdisciplinary thing or not.
>
> David and Margaret Howard Stanley: But that's the basic philosophy of the program!
>
> Barry Green (voice): If the proportions of this were set, i.e., if this were 10 per cent of the audition, I might feel more comfortable with it.
>
> David: I'm thinking of this not merely as a training program but as a way to build community. So the interdisciplinary approach is not 10 per cent of the whole program but a lot more. If you don't make this part of the screening process then it gets harder and harder to introduce later on.
>
> Milton (music): If we could think up something for the music students, something to make them shine, I would feel much more comfortable.
>
> Margaret Howard Stanley: That's not the purpose of it - to make kids shine.

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19) Margaret Howard Stanley was paid for her work that day by our research project, as part of our contractual agreement with them about the use and study of process consultants.

Adela (dance): I was talking before about how a communal sharing of an anxiety-provoking experience can be an interesting experience. But why don't we not talk about it. Let's do it and see how it is.

J.R. (creative writing): But you (the dancers and actors) are more comfortable with your bodies.

David: Then the feeling is not to try to solve this today. It's also pointing up our own differences instead of our commonality.

So while the discussion showed a protective concern for the students, it also evidenced what appeared to be deep areas of disagreement, uncomfortableness, varying understandings, and tension surrounding the interdisciplinary approach within the staff. (We will examine this further under the section on "Vision Clarification.")

The interdisciplinary exercise was included in the auditions. Those who objected to its inclusion were basically worn down, and gave in under protest. A semi-compromise was reached by including an exercise which had been designed by Milton, who still did not feel that a group process interdisciplinary exercise was a necessary part of the audition process.

(b) Recruiting the students. David told the staff that "the kids I've been meeting with so far have been super-humans. I've been really moved." He had spent most of the fall visiting all the sending schools and meeting with students there. At first he held after-school or during-school meetings, publicized by school administration announcements. Later, using the sending schools liaison to set things up, he visited classrooms, gave short presentations, and handed out fliers and applications. He stopped students in the hall, asked students if they knew people who were highly talented or might be interested. Always he addressed his remarks to the students, not the teachers, telling them that they might want to come to Arts Co-op if they wanted to do in-depth work in an art area, because of the interdisciplinary structure of the program, and if they were really interested in and committed to the arts. He told them the program would be small and that it was not for everybody. He also told them that a student would sit on the Administrative Council, the main policy-making body for Arts Co-op. Students often asked about scheduling problems, and what they would do about their after-school activities since Arts Co-op ran an hour beyond high school dismissal time. David told them they would have to give these things up because

> We do need to have your basic commitment and I'm afraid that those are the things you are going to have to leave behind if you come to Arts Co-op.

Thus a certain level of student commitment was already assured since most students had to make an active decision to choose Arts Co-op over other needs and interests.

(c) The auditions. Auditions were held in November and December in each of the participating towns. Most of them went smoothly. There were some foul-ups with bad weather and transportation problems, and as a result, the first Waterton audition only turned out a small number of students, so a second was held. They usually took place in the auditorium after school, and began with opening remarks by David, who introduced the staff. Then staff of each area met with the auditioning students in that area, telling the students they should ask questions to see if the program was right for them, rather than if they were right for the program. Students were relieved to have the chance to ask questions in their art areas at the outset, and one student, on being told that it was important that students determine if the program suited their needs, said "That makes me feel much more comfortable."

Students were then asked to come on stage in groups of 8-10 and participate in the interdisciplinary exercise. It was not the threatening event that some faculty had worried it would be; in fact, it had questionable use in learning more about the students, but did serve instead as an ice-breaking warm-up.

Finally, students went off to private auditions/interviews in the art area in which they were applying. For example, in drama they were asked to do various kinds of improvisations in addition to their prepared piece. In music they were given a few basic ear tests and asked to improvise with three notes given by the staff person.

Faculty were quite sensitive to the nervousness of the students, and did what they could to take extra pressure off. The tone of the auditions was non-competitive and supportive. But the staff was shocked at the lack of sophistication and the ignorance of most serious art and literature evidenced by the auditioning students. Although there were a few whom the staff considered really outstandingly talented, the caliber of talent was not up to the expectations of the staff and director.

(d) The selection. Minority students had a better chance of being admitted than white students and especially in dance and drama, boys who tried out (since there were so few) had a pretty good chance of getting in.* By the end of December, 1976, 62 students had been selected, of whom 18 were minority; 25 were boys and 37 girls. There were five students from Bailey, five from Adams, nine from Warren, 23 from Waterton, 10 from Winchester, five from Harbor View, two from Conway, and three from the Diocesan schools. The art area breakdown was as follows:

Visual arts: 14 (25% of all applicants applied in this area)
Drama: 15
Music: 15
Dance: 11
Creative writing: 7

*David added in his comments that they had a high number of minority students audition, "as a consequence of our recruitment effort which anticipated a need to do extra work here."

4. Vision clarification and organizational design. How did the director and staff go about designing the internal system? In retrospect it seems like a fairly rational process, with the goals as the basis for the organizational design. At the time, however, it felt as if there was a good deal of implicit disagreement, and a less-than complete understanding by the new staff of the planners' vision. David Steinhoff fully accepted the goals which had been laid down by the planners, but the staff he hired did not immediately share in this acceptance.

Since the staff was composed of practicing artists rather than regularly licensed teachers, they did not share a common background in public education, were not all accustomed to dealing with institutional demands (they had a great deal of trouble remembering operational decisions and filling out forms for payment), and were purposely chosen because they were not run-of-the-mill/traditional/conservative/entrenched educators. It was not surprising that they came in with widely divergent views of the arts and arts education. As we have said, there was little money to spend on ironing out these differences or inculcating the artists with the values of the planners. The several all-staff meetings held during the pre-operational period only began to reveal the variety of approaches and disagreements which existed.

At the time (October, 1976 through January, 1977), the staff was naturally more concerned with the pressure of imminent opening than with the details of the planning history. David served as the main interpreter and planning/implementation link, but it was not always made clear to the staff that David was in fact carrying around mandates from the planning as he developed plans for implementation.*

As a result, David was often in the position of pushing for certain decisions, and finally making them unilaterally, because staff disagreement did not necessarily take into account necessary carryover from the planning to the implementation.

Yet the overall impression is that the director and his staff struggled seriously with the issues and goals the planners had emphasized. Most of the initiation and energy came from David at this time, and there was a great deal of continuity between the Early and Late Planning Periods in this respect. The implementers took the planners' basic goals and vision and created a more detailed version of their own. The vision which emerged emphasized the following elements:

1. A community of artists (adult and youth, across art areas, across towns, across ethnic divisions
2. An interdisciplinary approach
3. Integration
4. Getting students to help one another
5. Having students get a sense of what it's like to be a practicing artist
6. Identifying potential as well as developed talent

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*David added here, after reading the case, that "Also, I agreed with--owned--them."

7. Self growth and the development of creativity over product
8. Bringing something back to the sending communities
9. Emphasis on student responsibility
10. Evaluation for outside purposes and for internal renewal.

This vision was developed within the context of two other considerations, one a carryover from the Early Planning Period (the need to be different from the sending schools), and the other an implementation/survival concern (the need to look good to the outside). We will first look at these two contextual considerations, and then review each of the elements of the vision, detailing the main decisions made by the staff and director to operationalize these elements.

(a) The need to be different from the sending schools. A major theme during the Early Planning Period, David emphasized to the staff, was the political importance of offering a program which did not replicate what was already offered. The interdisciplinary approach was seen by both the early planners and by David as a means of distinguishing the program. Margaret Howard Stanley commented to the staff that this distinctiveness is "important to the health of the project" and David said that "the question of our identity as a program is at stake here." Curriculum and program organization were developed partly in response to this mandate.

(b) The need to look good to the outside. Although, as we have seen, David did not share the details of his struggles with IASC with the staff, he did make it clear that there was some problem, and that the program faced increased vulnerability as a result. He told the staff in January, 1977 that "this is not a good time for taking risks," warning them to be extra careful, because, for example, "if a kid says 'I'm unsupervised on campus', I'm in trouble." Added to this was the pressure from sending schools for Arts Co-op to prove itself, and the general financing fragility which made it extra important that Arts Co-op be quickly seen as effective and good. The result of this pressure to look good from the outside was a double message for staff - to take risks and experiment--but to be careful and non-risk taking. It also made the director nervous, and he in turn was less sensitive to staff needs and concerns. It produced ambiguity about whether the school (and hence the teachers) would/should be judged on its students' work, even if the students were not necessarily the most highly talented, and whether this product emphasis was as or more important than the students' own growth.

5. Elements of the vision and related design decisions.

(a) Developing a community of artists. This was an all-encompassing piece guiding the internal system design; it was both an underlying philosophy and a specific structural goal. The planners and implementers wanted a social system which would provide support, inspiration, camaraderie, and knowledge of its members. They also wanted a tightly

knit group of people who would join together around a common interest in the arts, regardless of social position but sharing their differences at the same time. They wanted a place where adults and young people could engage in mutual learning and teaching as artists and teachers. There was a great deal of emphasis in the pre-operational period on creating the right atmosphere for the program - as David said, one "that is comfortable, secure, but at the same time adventurous." David talked of the human wealth of the program which would more than make up for the lack of material wealth, and emphasized to future students and staff that it would be the human system which would be Arts Co-op's most distinguishing feature.

Most of the other elements of the vision contributed or were connected to this goal of developing a community, and we will note these connections as we discuss those other elements. There were also several specific decisions and approaches which David or David and the staff made which were directed at developing a community:

- Using the Theater Games people from the Eastern Players Theater. David, on the advice of Margaret Howard Stanley, decided to use people from her group at the Eastern Theater to do some group building exercises on opening day, and during the first two weeks of school. NCA had used them and liked the results. But there was some tension from the regular staff about giving over three of the first five days to outsiders, and while the group building exercises had some long-term positive effect, they also had a negative effect of raising staff resentment, blurring the edges of the new internal system, and making the staff feel less than fully at the hub.

- All-school gatherings. Given the segmented nature of the program, David felt it was important that there be sufficient all-school gatherings and activities. This was a partial reason for his pushing of a one-day-a-week interdisciplinary day in which the whole school would participate.

- Some staff members felt it was important that students and staff have some social, non-task oriented time together. They planned a mini-party with refreshments for the first day.

(b) The interdisciplinary approach. The interdisciplinary approach, intended by the planners to be a perspective informing the philosophy and curriculum of the entire program, became a formal device for building community and making linkages among the segmented pieces of the program. David had ideas about the interrelationship of the arts, but operationalizing them was elusive. Some staff, like Iris Blumen in drama, were staunch supporters of the interdisciplinary concept, and

those who used it in their own work advocated this thrust. But a number of staff did not easily relate to the interdisciplinary idea, felt it was too abstract and not applicable to their particular art form. They were not convinced by the arguments of David or the few staff members who firmly believed in the need for an artist to understand certain basic commonalities about all art forms. And there was already leftover bad feeling from the arguments about including an interdisciplinary exercise in the auditions.

A decision was made to have each Thursday be Interdisciplinary Day. Because the planners had mandated the interdisciplinary approach, because David felt it was important to establish an interdisciplinary thrust right at the very start, and because he wanted to lasso the intangible and do something about it, David pressed hard for this decision to have one day each week devoted to interdisciplinary and whole-school activity. There were several staff members who agreed with David. But more had doubts about the interdisciplinary approach, and about assigning one day each week to it. After three meetings in which the role and implementation of the interdisciplinary approach were argued, David himself made the decision. He further insisted that this day be the same each week to establish a pattern of regular interdisciplinary work (despite the fact that this messed up staff schedules, so that whoever came in on Thursday did not get to work with their art area or necessarily offer any of their special expertise). Rather than building community, however, or contributing to a successful interdisciplinary approach, this imposed day only raised resentment among the staff, and those opposed to the idea became more firmly entrenched. Informal alliances began forming among members of the staff who had no patience with this particular manifestation of the interdisciplinary approach, thus splitting up the staff instead of melding it together.

So the decision to establish the interdisciplinary thrust through a formal device was, ironically, already having some anti-interdisciplinary and anti-community-building effects. There was another decision which also might be construed as dysfunctional both to the development of community and to the implementation of the interdisciplinary approach: to place students in one art area only.

The student selection process which placed students in one art area only went against the planners' belief that these highly gifted students were often multi-talented; the process also encouraged students to compartmentalize themselves into a non-interdisciplinary specialty, even though many of the students were unsure which area was really theirs. In a real sense, the structural segmentation of the program into art areas may have done more to convince the students of the separateness of the arts than the ideology of an interdisciplinary approach did to convince them of the interrelationships.

The staff did agree that it was all right for students to visit other classes, either individually or as a group. But David vetoed the

notion of having students branch out formally into other art areas, worried that the students' experience was already too fragmented and they would get nothing in depth.* There was a continuing tension between the desire to broaden the students' awareness and to concentrate on developing skills in one area in depth.

(c) Integration. The planners' social goal of integration was now being considered in its implementation form - getting students and staff of different backgrounds to interact around a common interest in the arts. All of the minority students would come from Waterton, given the demographic distribution, and Waterton would also be sending the largest number of students to the program (23 out of 62). Of the first class selected for Arts Co-op, 18 (29%) were minority, a few more than the 25 per cent David had felt was the minimum effective number.

Finding minority staff was much more difficult, and although during the pre-operational period there were three Black staff members out of 11, by the time school opened, only one remained.

Achieving actual integration - through real interaction, friendships - was a problem which the director and staff considered during this period. As David said to the staff:

> Think of the social reality - it's going to be weird. Kids from totally White communities going to school with minority kids for the first time, and kids from the inner city going to school with suburban kids for the first time. Don't underestimate that.

But this was not emphasized heavily, and there was no attempt to make integration or ethnic issues stand out either in the pre-operational or start-up periods. David had made an explicit decision of his own that they should not directly confront ethnic issues head-on until the program was solidly established with a quality program in the arts so that the arts would really form the basis for the connection. David thought that would take at least a year and perhaps 18 months or two years. It had been the hope of the planners that this interaction would result and grow from a sharing of talent and interest, and this was the attitude with which the director and staff approached the opening. So, they emphasized students' helping one another rather than working on integration directly.

(d) Getting students to help one another. The teacher was not to be the sole focus or giver of wisdom and knowledge; students should look to their talented peers for help. David's background with youth participation projects in which student independence, initiation, and governance were emphasized contributed to this outlook. Mostly, David

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*David noted in his comments on the case, "As I recall, we did allow students to split specialties after about 6-8 weeks, but felt first they must demonstrate growth and command in one area. Several students did split."

told the staff this and emphasized it as a goal for classroom interaction. Peer help was also seen as a device for building intertown and interethnic respect - students would recognize that their peers had a lot to offer, because regardless of where they came from, they were a group of talented and creative people, sharing many similar struggles.

(e) Communicating the life of a practicing artist. The planners and implementers also believed it was important that students have an idea of what an artist's life is like - to come to grips with the daily struggles an artist faces in terms of survival (given lack of strong support for the individual artist in this country), and in terms of the demands of art and creativity. (J.R. felt that students needed to understand that "there is a constant battle between freedom and discipline that goes in an artist's life. We have to develop a disciplined but comfortable way to work.") David encouraged the staff to tell the students about themselves, to open up to the students. These lateral and non-hierarchical connections between students and staff were also a way of building community and exposing people of different art areas to one another.

One decision which contributed to a lack of distinction between staff and students and to the creation of a collegial atmosphere was the use of first names. Most of the staff were explicitly comfortable being called by their first names, but a couple were not. In the pre-operational staff meetings, there was a good deal of discussion about whether this would be a policy or not. They decided it would be up to individual teachers, but David forgot to mention this in his introductory speech on the first day of school, and had already introduced himself as David. Even the staff members who had said they had never been called by their first names and were uncomfortable about it seemed to have no problem when they were addressed that way at Arts Co-op. There was a casualness and easiness about the atmosphere which was established immediately when the school opened that made the earlier discussions moot.

(f) Identifying potential as well as developed talent. This was another major planning goal; the issue was that of constituting a differentiated and integrated student body that would encompass both those who had had opportunities to develop their talent and those who had not. It was also part of the philosophy of nurturing talent and developing creativity. The faculty, themselves falling in the category of "highly talented", did not share Jane and David's private ambivalence that all students, not just the highly talented, could benefit from such a program. There was, however, some confusion about the notion of undeveloped talent. One staff member kept talking about wanting to review the students' portfolios, and David had to keep reminding her that many of the students with undeveloped talent might have done very little in terms of product. The successful identification of potentially talented students was another elusive goal to operationalize, and depended on the goodness of the intuitive judgements of the staff members involved.

The audition process did pay attention to this need. That was what David had been after when he asked the staff to describe what they would

be looking for in a student. The selection decisions were not solely based on how well the student could perform a prepared piece, and the auditions looked for whether a student really had something beyond the norm - an ear, sense of movement and rhythm, balance, presence.

One decision which was made about student selection was not fully congruent with staff assumptions about potential and undeveloped talent, namely the decision that students must choose one art area to specialize in. If Arts Co-op was looking for students with potential talent, for students who might be unaware of their talent, how could a student who didn't know or believe s/he was talented make an informed choice? Wouldn't an audition process which did not focus on art areas have had more chance of rooting out potential talent? As Margaret Howard Stanley advised the new staff at their first meeting:

> I think we would do well to think in terms of a philosophy of young people who are in a formative stage, not ready to lock themselves into any one thing or another.

Still, the audition process was able to identify potential as well as already developed talent.

One of the problems which the staff and director correctly anticipated as a result of the mix of trained and untrained students was varying levels of training and ability within any particular class. This would be more of a problem in dance, since that is by nature more of a group experience than the other art forms and more dependent on particular types of training. (In fact, what would happen when the program opened was that the "levels problem" would become a more pervasive concern; in general, it was the minority students who had less training than the White students and thus were already "behind" the White students. This separated the students, resulted in minority students dropping out or not attending, and pointed up the complexity of achieving true integration and equality of social interaction.)

Because of the newness of the program, the lack of publicity and reputation, the difficulty of knowing where and how to find undeveloped talent, the students were not as outstanding as they might have been. Perhaps 40 per cent might have been called "highly talented", with most of the rest falling into a gray "somewhat talented" area. All told, the first student body was probably drawn from the top 20 per cent of the general school population, not the top 3-5 per cent. At first, the director and staff did not worry about this, but after opening, they realized that Arts Co-op would be judged by the outside in part on how good its students looked. If the students were less talented, the work they produced would not be as good, would not reflect as well on the faculty's teaching, and could be construed as the result of the ineffectiveness of the program. As the school year wore on, the director began to hold the teachers responsible for how good or not the students' work was, and staff felt caught in the middle.

(g) Self-growth versus product. When David was interviewed, he emphasized to the screening committee that talent needed to be developed for the purposes of exploration, not product. David didn't care whether they went into the field professionally or not. Although some staff disagreed, the staff accepted David's initial feelings on the primacy

of self-growth. They clearly agreed that this was not a pre-professional school. But as the year wore on, staff began to feel that the lack of product demands encouraged a lack of serious commitment among the students. Many of the staff had been trained with weekly or regular performances or products demanded, and they began to push for more of a performance orientation. And the way the school presented itself to the outside became more and more important once the school was open. With the survival of the enterprise so vulnerable, positive product was a way to bolster its claim that the school was needed. The director began to judge the teachers on the basis of the product of their students. During the first semester, this goal succession was not made wholly clear and the ambiguity of the director's expectations would put a strain on his relations with the staff. But at the time the school opened, David's emphasis was on "the whole child", self-growth, and the development of creativity.

(h) Bringing something back to the sending communities. This was a goal of the planners, as much a justification for taking students out of the sending schools as a sincere belief that Arts Co-op would and could offer its talents and special accomplishments to the sending towns. Tutoring of younger students by Arts Co-op students, and performances and activities in hospitals, nursing homes, were proposed as possible actions. Some staff members, especially the Waterton "locals" like J.R. and Susan Torra, had a commitment to giving the students a real sense of the city and the surrounding communities. It was David's feeling, expressed in his interview, that "the arts grow out of one's social setting." Bringing something back also had a political purpose: the P/I group recognized that performing services in the communities and sending schools would help Arts Co-op to build a good image and make it harder to cancel the program.

The staff accepted this goal, but did not spend much time worrying about it at this stage - they were more concerned with the need to establish the program first.

(i) Emphasis on student responsibility. David and the staff viewed the students as responsible people. They made decisions on grading, attendance and student decision-making which reflected this attitude.

The staff was reluctant to give grades, but on being informed that they had to do so for the sending schools, decided at the January staff meeting that grades would be determined on level of effort, progress, and amount of growth of the individual student. Grades would not be determined on a comparative, competitive basis. The staff also agreed that it was important for the student to get something in writing explaining the grade and the student's progress and needs. David recommended that all students and teachers should make statements of their goals and agree on a process for grading - that the students could decide, the teachers could decide, or they could negotiate.

Students were expected to attend regularly, but if they planned to be absent, they were to call in in the morning. If a student was

chronically absent, the attitude of the staff was to find out what the problem was and help work it out, not to act like police. A policy-level decision in the Administrative Council formalized a process for contacting the guidance counselor of a chronically absent student.

The planners had included a student representative on the Administrative Council, to help set policy and be a spokesperson for the students. But it was not possible to choose a student representative prior to the opening of school. David, whose previous job and main concern had been youth participation, did not take this representation lightly. The staff also considered setting up a student council, but David warned that "we might want to spend time developing community first rather than having a student government, which eliminates most kids."

(j) Evaluation. David felt it was necessary to do a program evaluation, for the grant report and applications for additional funds, and for the program's own record and use. David told the staff that he wanted to have a "visiting committee" to do an outside evaluation of the school; it would be composed of prestigious and influential people connected to the arts who were friends of the program. This was a unilateral decision made by David and the staff agreed to it.

In summary, the major goals and elements of the vision all clustered around developing a community of artists - young and adult, Black and White, rich and poor, trained and untrained - which would discover and nurture the development of talent and creativity. But there were numerous structural aspects which mitigated against the easy development of a school-wide community, including the division of the program into separate art areas; the half time nature of the program; the centrality of the director; the lack of any other full-time staff besides the director and his secretary; the tight budget minimizing staff gatherings or extra-time commitments; the variety of offerings in each area and the resulting fragmentation for the students; the treatment of the staff as "consultants" who just came in for two hours a few times each week rather than as regular salaries employees; and the dispersed site facilities.

But despite the obstacles and disagreements, there was still a cohesion developing among the staff prior to the opening of the school that was a result of the interactions in staff meetings and student auditions. Most of the staff had a basic commitment which exceeded their material compensation. They were all sensitive to kids and to the needs of developing artists. They were excited by the newness of the venture and about being the germinal staff. The director's energy, commitment, and understanding of the planning goals and his continual wrestling with his vision of what the program could be communicated itself to the staff.

Summary: the state of the system. We might summarize the last two sections briefly. How did things look as the opening date of Arts Co-op neared?

Generally speaking, there was moderately good linkage between the planners' hopes and those of the director. But in many respects the staff did not own the planning goals, disagreed about them, or found them ambiguous. Furthermore, many specific decisions looked at this point as if they might vitiate good implementation.

Above all, the overload of planning/implementation tasks was quite staggering. The time pressure and uncertainty common to any new school was compounded by the steady conflict with IASC, the underfunding, Arts Co-op's vulnerability both to IASC and the sending schools, the pressure to be different and non-duplicative, what looked like declining support from the State, and the thinness of money for final planning. All these were external sources of stress. The IASC struggle was particularly debilitating since it not only reduced the program's power in relation to IASC, but ended with a structure that heightened the power of non-sending districts over the school.

Internally, the segmentation of the program into relatively autonomous art areas, the dispersed site, the divergence among part-time, non-tenured staff, the half-time nature of the program, the scrutiny by various stakeholders made for difficulty.

Partly temperamentally, we suspect,[20] and partly because of a number of small decisions with cumulative impact, David had become extremely central in the system. He buffered the staff from IASC; he and the secretary were the only full-timers; he was the link to and partner of Jane and her capable external political work; he was the only link between the two sub-staffs (Monday and Thursday); there were no assistants or area coordinators who might have helped with coordination and planning. These structural features made David even more overloaded and stressed, and probably even more isolated from his staff, who as we have seen turned out to have many conflicting views about various aspects of the enterprise. The mechanisms for conflict resolution were weak. Instead of strengthening them, David's temptation was to remain central, and make decisions himself, as when he mandated the interdisciplinary day.

On the plus side, we should point to the caliber and inventiveness of the staff, and the likelihood that an enthusiastic and lively group of students had been recruited. After all, these two roles were where the primary action would be taking place.

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20) We do not mean here that David was arbitrary or autocratic. Rather, the intensity of his vision, his thoroughness, and his tendency to be very critical of anyone's work, including his own, all moved him away from high collaboration.

Analysis and Commentary

Political stabilization. By the end of the Late Planning Period, the financing and budgeting plans for the first semester were complete, and most of the matching funds for the $10,000 needed to match the $5,000 Arts Commission grant had been secured. The program was still very short on money, and many decisions about the internal design of the program were affected by the tight budget.

The Late Planners were extremely active in attempting to provide Arts Co-op with a firm position in relation to the sending schools and the sending communities, where resistance to regionalization was high, allocating money to specialized programs was controversial, and regular arts faculties felt threatened by and in competition with the new arts school. Through these efforts, they were able to obtain the $1,000 commitment from each Board, recruit and identify talented students, and extend the support base for the school.

They also took effective action in relation to their other constituencies and stakeholders. But the conflict with IASC jeopardized some of these relationships. It was clear by the early fall that the problems between the two Davids and between the two organizations (IASC and Arts Co-op) were probably not going to improve, and from the Early and Late Planners point of view, IASC was threatening to destroy some of the important goals and vision of the planners. David Steinhoff and Jane Sobel tried quietly to share their concerns with some of their supporters, including some in the State Department of Education. But at the same time, Joshua Carr, the Commissioner of Education, was trying to build up the regional agencies, especially IASC, considered the weak sister among the three main other agencies. Thus, for supporters in certain positions, especially at the state level, involvement in the conflict put them in opposition to the policies of their own institutions. This resulted in those supporters pulling back from partisanship in Art Co-op's conflict with IASC.*

Furthermore, IASC's lack of helpfulness (in getting additional funds, in extending the inclusion of area towns, in acting as advocate for the program) hurt Arts Co-op at a time when it could have used all the additional resources and protective cooperation it could get.

The associated dilemma of environmental contact versus avoidance surfaced in relation to the political strategizing and circumventive tactics that the Late Planners found necessary to employ to counteract the effects of the IASC pressure. What was difficult in the fight with IASC was determining how public to go with complaints against IASC. Jane's style was to fight "clean"; she was also polite, well-mannered and careful, and preferred to resolve conflicts so that all parties could walk away satisfied. And David had already been given a lesson about showing IASC's dirty linen in public.[21] David Kelman, on the other

21) This occurred at a state meeting of arts programs, where David asked for an open-forum discussion of the programs' relationships to their regional agencies. Others made it quite clear that his proposal was inappropriate.

*Jane Sobel added upon reading the case, "These supporters continued their (ideological) support of Arts Co-op; they simply didn't 'take sides.'"

hand, was using this time to consolidate his power, within his organization and at the state level. His style was different; he often contradicted himself from one time to the next. Jane Sobel once commented that Kelman counted on people like her not to call him a liar. David and Jane kept having the feeling that Kelman would somehow do himself in. By the end of the Late Planning Period, it was not clear who had the edge in the struggle, and David and Jane were being cautious in their politicking efforts.

So Arts Co-op was perhaps in a better, or more visible position vis a vis the sending communities than it had been earlier, but was in a less good position in relation to the state, particularly the Title IV-c office, Chuck Gould, and the Commissioner.

Knowledge utilization. The ideas and information for planning during this period came from the experiences of NCA, from all the literature gathered during the Early Planning Period, and from David Steinhoff's past work and current readings/interviews. David's experience at a California alternative high school gave him many ideas and points of comparison. He spent the summer reviewing research on the talented. He was connected to people in the fields of youth participation, educational research, and alternative education. As his notebook of jottings indicates, he spoke with dozens of artists and educators with ideas for program.

Margaret Howard Stanley was used as the main consultant on the design of the auditions and the program. In addition, David called on the Advisory Committee for more specific suggestions on program development and staff selection. Procedures for the audition came mainly from NCA, though they had to be scaled down because of budget limitations.

David had no problem in calling on others for information, help, and expertise. He clearly admitted where he lacked knowledge, (for example in developing a music program, he hired Milton Ziegler, a well established and highly respected area musician and music professor, to conceptualize and staff the music program). David listened to advice, but more so from outsiders than from his own staff. The staff were open to outside expertise, since as artists they were continually exploring new ways to improve and create. They were finally willing to do the interdisciplinary exercise in one audition because Margaret Howard Stanley, whom they respected highly as a fellow artist, had recommended it. If anything, the problem during this period was the need to know so much about so many things, with everything demanding full attention and commitment.

Vision development. The vision which emerged at the end of the Late Planning Period was fairly congruent with what the planners had said they had wanted. There was a great deal of linkage between the Early and Late Planning Period in this respect. Most design decisions were congruent with their vision. There was not a fully unified philosophy among the staff, and there was a stressful feeling of

"trying to make it to opening," solving the housekeeping and pressing organizational problems of site, materials, and program.

Pieces of the vision were owned by the staff, but only David and Jane had a really clear and full idea of the totality of the vision. While the planning goals and the vision were shared at least verbally with the staff, much was simply stated and emphasized in words by David, and the staff slowly began to pick up these emphases.

Adherence to the planners' goals was not a problem for David, but did present some problems for the staff of practicing artists, who were not all clear about and not all in agreement with some of the goals or pieces of the vision. Decisions made by the staff did not really reflect a pull between familiar and innovative choices, since the staff were not entrenched educators and did not share a common view of what was standard procedure in teaching the arts to talented youngsters, but rather a pull between conflicting approaches to the arts. Where they had to accommodate to outside constraints (such as demands for grading and attendance), they worked out procedures which did not contradict their emphasis on student independence, responsibility, and initiation.

Other key themes. As before, we will review the key themes of regionalization, integration, financing, accountability and autonomy, centralization versus local control, standardization versus uniqueness, and the power of planners.

1. Regionalization. During this period, the regionalization aspects of the plan took on a more immediate reality. Decisions in the Administrative Council reflected the increasing emphasis on protecting the participating towns' interests. No longer were the superintendents and towns talking abstractly about the commitment and redistribution of resources; now there were dollars on the line and services to be gained in return. Equity became a salient theme in the deliberations and decisions of the Administrative Council and the participating Boards of Education - no one town should get more than any other. Site and transportation problems were also now related to regional concerns, rather than being simply operational tasks: The school had to be located in Waterton, but there was nervousness among the suburban parents about sending their children into the city. Transportation to the school meant a financial commitment by the sending towns - for buses, carpools, or taxis - and the districts were slow and reluctant about making any commitment.

In general, this was a difficult time for Arts Co-op in terms of the regional concerns; there were financial commitments required, but there was nothing to show for it yet, no way for the towns to really know what they were getting into.

2. Integration. As Waterton continued to struggle with H.E.W. about its integration problems, Arts Co-op was concentrating on putting together an ethnically diverse student body, and a staff with sufficient minority representation. Since the program had to remain in Waterton, Jane and

David thought they might be able to gain support from the Waterton superintendent since it would be a positive piece for him to put into a desegregation plan. The real problem for Arts Co-op was that Waterton's lack of a desegregation plan made it difficult to bring in federal funds. Arts Co-op could have applied for Title VII monies, for example, had this not been the case. And in January, 1976, the city was officially ruled ineligible to receive certain funds until it produced a desegregation plan.

3. Financing. During this period, the property tax method of financing education was ruled unconstitutional by the state courts, but the decision had no immediate effect. When Arts Co-op was turned down for additional monies by Title IV-c, this meant that they would need to ask for even more money from the participating districts the following year when funding was cut to 75 per cent of the current figure. The state wanted to throw the responsibility for financing back to local districts. Getting the $1,000 commitment from each district had not been easy, and the towns understood that the figure next year would be substantially higher. The greatest amount would have to come from Waterton, with the largest number of students and the least return on its property tax.

4. Accountability and autonomy. The major theme of the Late Planning Period was the struggle for the autonomy of Arts Co-op. IASC, newly reorganized with little attention to decisions and policies of previous IASC administrations, came into conflict with the arts program, whose planning had been predicated on certain assumptions about the relationship to IASC.

The planners had expected that Arts Co-op would supervise itself with its own governing board of Superintendents. David Kelman saw IASC as the supervising body and himself and the Representative Council as the legally accountable bodies, which therefore had the right to make decisions about and supervise Arts Co-op. While Jane and David quickly understood what was happening, and felt that Kelman wanted much greater control over Arts Co-op than had been intended, the Administrative Council did not realize this until the winter of 1977, mainly because of David's buffering.

There are several aspects of the accountability question here. The issue of personal accountability is one. Steinhoff, rather than being treated as a professional colleague by IASC, was treated as an employee. He was required to fill out minute-to-minute accounts of his actions, to come to IASC staff meetings, to change his appointments when Kelman had made conflicting appointments.

The issue of accountability of the program is another. Was the program in fact accountable to the sending towns, as had been intended? Or was it now becoming accountable to IASC and its Representative Council, composed mostly of non-member towns? David and Jane did privately question the possibility of pulling the project out of IASC, but felt it was impossible to do, since the Commissioner supported the regional agencies (and so did Title IV-c). Furthermore, Jane was torn because she still felt that IASC was the proper channel for operating such a program.

Finally, there is the issue of the accountability of David Kelman. He was formally accountable to his Board, the Representative Council, who hired him and would renew his contract. At about this time, Jane and several others were beginning to feel that the Representative Council was not, in fact, very representative, and was more a power bloc for Kelman than spokespersons for their districts; thus in their view Kelman was really accountable only to a handful of people (mostly those who had hired him) plus the Commissioner, Joshua Carr.

5. Centralization versus local control. With the threat to the governance structure and the right of the Administrative Council to set bottom line policy for Arts Co-op, the local control versus centralization questions become more salient. The changes in IASC, coupled with the usurpation/forfeit of the Administrative Council's power, virtually removed the local control from the regional Arts Co-op project. IASC consolidated its power, and became a much stronger organization, at least in relation to its own projects. In this case, the regional agency was becoming a threat to this aspect of local control. This situation would intensify in the first semester of the school's operation.

6. Standardization versus uniqueness. Kelman insisted that Arts Co-op use the same procedures as those designed for other Arts Co-op projects, all of which were for handicapped children. Justifying this by pointing out that the gifted and talented provision was part of the Special Education Law, Kelman used this stance in support of his position to the Representative Council, asking "Do you want to treat Arts Co-op differently from the other projects of IASC?"

The standardization moves by IASC and Kelman were part of an attempt to build the IASC organization, but at the expense of the protection of programs demanding unique and situational approaches, like Arts Co-op.

A subtopic under this theme is that of the tension between the specialists and the generalist administrators. This took place on several fronts and interestingly, often involved the same actors playing different roles in different situations. In relation to the Administrative Council, David was the specialist pushing for resolutions which were based more on programmatic concerns than on regionalization or political concerns; he was in opposition here to the administrators from the sending districts, who had to protect their districts from trespasses and potential inequities. In the struggle against IASC's attempt to impose uniform procedures and bureaucratic constraints, David was vehemently the specialist-artist-director, against an administration-oriented generalist, David Kelman. And the Administrative Council was just beginning to assume the role of specialist protectors of Arts Co-op against the centralizing regional agency of IASC.

But in relation to his own staff, David was the generalist

administrator, lacking particular expertise in most of the art areas, treating his staff of specialist artist professionals as employees and sometimes unilaterally imposing administrative decisions which went against the staff's view of what they thought was necessary and important. In general, the staff did not get to see David in his specialist role against the Administrative Council or against IASC, and David buffered them from these conflicts.

7. The power of planners. It became all too clear during this period that the power of the planners depended on more than simply building a wide-base support, a coherent philosophy, vision, and organizational design, and good use of existing mandates to plan a particular type of program. Power depends on assessing what is the bottom line of protection needed to insure that the plans have legitimacy; and it means making sure of the support of all the right stakeholders. We suspect that the Commissioner was one essential link which was missing for Arts Co-op.* It was not that he didn't support the idea or the planning for the school, but rather that his priority was the regional agency. Kelman had begun cultivating his relationship to the Commissioner; this meant that Arts Co-op could not easily develop a separate relationship to Carr, since this would not be politic, and since Carr's explicit policy was non-interference in local affairs, - of which the Arts Co-op conflict with IASC was a case in point.

Key Decisions

The decisions made by David and his staff were not necessarily owned by all, and people did not always have a clear idea of what had been decided. There were no written notes of staff meetings, although David did keep a notebook of his own with records and notes.

Decisions made by the Administrative Council were also characterized by less than full consensus among all members at all times. Generally, one or two members would give in, not satisfied with the ultimate outcome but unable to see another solution. Minutes of the meetings were typewritten and distributed in much the same fashion as Jane had done. Decisions of the Administrative Council reflected a growing emphasis on issues of regionalization and equity, and decreased emphasis on purely programmatic concerns.

It should also be noted that it is incomplete to talk only about the decisions that the P/I group(s) made during this period. So much of what was happening to Arts Co-op was a result of decisions in the environment that had an impact on Arts Co-op; e.g. the many changes in IASC, the IASC-dictated shifts in the Arts Co-op governance structure, and the Title IV-c refusal to allocate additional monies. With that in mind, we will review the key decisions made by the P/I group(s) during the Late Planning Period.

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*Steinhoff commented that "the key link was the IASC Board /Representative Council/ and we never succeeded there." This was true, but there is the possibility that had the commissioner supported Arts Co-op, the Representative Council could have been either circumvented or appeased.

Program s[illegible] dec[illegible] by the Administrative Council. The veto of an artist assistant contributed to the centrality of the director, as did the veto of department heads to avoid the development of a hierarchy. The decision to have fixed numbers of students from each town, based purely on a percentage of the school population figures, emphasized geographic distribution as a more important criteria than talent in student selection.*

Support-gaining decisions. The formation of a Friends of Arts Co-op group in September, 1976 grew out of the planners' subcommittee on community involvement, and took care of a number of needed contacts for which the main Late Planners did not have time.

A decision to have a liaison person in each of the sending schools was confirmed by the Administrative Council in September, and this provided a formal network of contact and support people in each sending school.

Design decisions. Having an interdisciplinary day was the least fully owned decision; it was essentially made by David, to make certain that the interdisciplinary approach became an integral part of the school.

The audition process resulted from a series of decisions made by David and the staff. The process was owned except for the interdisciplinary exercise, which was only tolerated by some of the staff members. But the staff was basically satisfied with the audition process.

Calling in the Eastern Players people to do warm-up and interdisciplinary exercises the first week of school was a decision made unilaterally by David. Some staff did not necessarily mind their coming in (though others resented it), but many did feel squeezed for time in their art areas. This decision did little to build ownership among the staff, since it pushed them aside for the opening of school.

First names would be up to the individual teacher, but David set the tone immediately at opening with his informality and self-reference as "David". This was just one of a number of signals to students that Arts Co-op would be different from their sending schools.

Grading was to be on the basis of a student's own progress, not on a competitive, sliding scale. The process for grading would be agreed upon by student and teacher. The student would get something in writing.

Attendance was the student's responsibility; s/he should call in in the morning if s/he planned to be absent. Chronic absences would be taken up with the guidance counselor and student.

Unanticipated outcomes of planning decisions. Several of the carefully made planning decisions had unanticipated effects when they began to be implemented. These included the governance structure, the half-time nature of the program, the method of payment/hiring for the staff, and the underbudgeting.

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* In addition, added David after reading the case, "the numbers of students from each town became very hard to change when we needed more tuition. We should have anticipated this problem."

The governance structure which the planners had developed did not anticipate any changes in IASC and did not provide any legal backing for their decisions. The result was that a new director of IASC came in and undid what he felt he could legally undo. The plan had little protection.

When they discussed the half-time nature of the program, the planners had anticipated fragmentation, but they had not expected that the director would have a hard time hiring staff because they would not be able to find other half-time work nearby.

By paying the staff as consultants, rather than regular salaried employees, the centrality of the director was increased. There was no protection or even minimal job security for the staff.*

The underbudgeting tightly constrained the amount of time the staff could spend together, resulting in a less than unified philosophy and acceptance of the goals and vision. It contributed to the centrality of the director in preventing the development of solid lateral linkages among staff members. Rather than having the whole staff choose every student, one or two members of each art area made the selections in that area. This had several effects: it made the selection of the most talented students less certain, and increased program segmentation, since staff only got to meet their own students.

P/I group capabilities. What were the capabilities involved in producing these decisions? We will comment on legitimacy, political skills, commitment, decision making, and reflexivity as exhibited by one or more of the groups involved in the planning during this period.

1. Legitimacy. Because he had been hired as the result of a formal screening process, and because he had a regular contract, David had a certain amount of formal legitimacy as the director of Arts Co-op. His staff did not have that same legitimacy, since they were paid hourly, as consultants, and had no formal protection of regular hiring and firing procedures.

In relation to IASC, Jane Sobel now had little legitimacy, since she was no longer an employee. The staff of Arts Co-op had even less. A lot of circumvention was necessary to get the school opened in a fashion congruent with the planners' hopes.[22)]

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22) For example, Kelman wanted IASC people to attend all the pre-operational staff meetings but David and the staff, for obvious reasons, wanted and needed that time to work out their own concerns, not those of IASC. They found they had to hold what amounted to secret meetings to get their planning done.

*Both Jane and David had comments on this point after reading the case. Said David:

> [The consultant arrangement] also freed us from having to keep people who did not work out. My bias.

And Jane said:

> It may or may not be relevant to note that the model (NCA) had paid its staff as consultants at first, and apparently without the negative effect Arts Co-op experienced. This suggests that it was a combination of factors that was significant.

The legitimacy of the Administrative Council was also being called into question now, as Kelman changed decisions which had already been made by the Administrative Council. Had Kelman conceded their legitimate right to make policy and still wanted changes, he would have taken his proposals to them first for approval.

Generally, Kelman did not view people or groups as legitimate unless they had some legal backing and protection. Although the school seemed to be gaining legitimacy with the sending communities, there were several parts of the enterprise where legitimacy was weak or in doubt. In this sense, something was missing: insufficient attention was going into the process of deepening and insuring legitimacy.

We might note that part of David Kelman's legitimacy came from his assertive willingness to act "as if" his actions were legitimate. He was able to change past policies and decisions of IASC in part because of this style, and partly because there was no policy about the continuance of policies. He also could invoke the weak financial status of IASC to gain a mandate to restructure it, throwing out much of the past.

2. Political skills. In contrast to the Early Planning Period, when the planners' efforts to gain support were warmly greeted, the Late Planners ran into a great deal of resistance or non-action. David, not nearly so diplomatic as Jane, alienated a number of people, including Chuck Gould in the State Department, but also gained a good deal of support through his continuous and persistent efforts to meet with all school people and artists whom Arts Co-op needed. Jane, in the meantime, was also meeting with less success than she had in the early period, since she was now politicking to build support for Arts Co-op's autonomy against IASC incursions, a much different aim than the simple positive goals of her earlier support-seeking efforts. Jane was very sharp politically, but somehow neither she nor David seemed able to fight and win against Kelman.

3. Commitment. Among the staff, commitment was fairly high. Most, on being questioned by the researcher, said they expected to work more than they were being paid for. But investment among the staff was not consciously developed during this period by David; there was a feeling that David wanted the staff to come along and did not leave much room for staff control or responsibility. Prior to opening one staff member left because the pay was too low, another because of illness, and a third because she couldn't work out her support for the other ½ time.

The Administrative Council was still a supportive group, committed to the project their districts had planned. But individual town interests often took precedence over the interests of the program.

David's commitment was for practical purposes total by this point. He always kept the possibility of leaving because of the IASC conflict in the back of his mind, but he never mentioned that without immediately saying that he first wanted to get the program solidly established.

4. Decision making. David became the central decision maker on the program design. Jane made most of the decisions about the behind-the

scenes politicking (and David purposely and specifically "did not want to know" about this); Jane and David together made other decisions about dealing with the environment. The decisions about the internal design, while congruent in most ways with the planners' vision, were the least fully owned, since the staff had diverging views about what should be happening.

5. Reflexivity. David and the staff exhibited some degree of reflexivity during this period. For example, in the argument about including an interdisciplinary exercise in the auditions, the staff finally tried it out for themselves. But this was not followed up in any formal manner afterward; there was no systematic or informal reflection on the group process which had gone on during the meeting and in the exercises (which told a great deal about the basic feeling, approaches, and public presentations of the staff members involved). In fact, this lack of reflexivity and follow up (especially after tense situations) was a pattern which characterized most of the formal community-building attempts with staff and students once the school opened.

But there were other ways in which David encouraged the staff to be reflexive. Quoting Ralph Tyler, David told the staff to discipline themselves to write things down, and to "hoard your recollections as you would receipts for income tax." He and the staff devised a questionnaire to collect data on the students the first week of school, to be filled out by both the teacher and the student, trying to ascertain student interests, needs, expectations, and goals.

The staff had hoped they would be able to have some time together which was not just meeting talk, but sharing of resources and knowledge,

workshops, and group experiences. But tight money, fragmented schedules, and operational concerns prevented this from materializing either prior to opening, or in the first semester.

Intermediate Outcomes

Adequacy of resources. At the time of opening, Arts Co-op was on a very tight budget. They would make it, thought David, but it meant every penny had to be watched, and many things that they would have done had there been funds they did not do.

Environmental endorsement. There was a large support base for Arts Co-op as a result of all the planners'/implementers' efforts, but there was only tentative support or passive resistance by groups whose interests were threatened, for example the arts teachers. There was declining support from the state.

Quality of decisions. Decisions were of fairly good quality. Even those we mentioned as having dysfunctions or boomerang effects were made for legitimate reasons - either political/regional protection, tight budget, or adherence to planning goals and mandates.

Ownership of decisions. Decisions were not nearly as fully owned as during the Early Planning Period, when there was total or near total agreement on planning decisions, and true consensus. During this period, there was much more compromise, with a lot of residual disagreement and conflict.

Early Implementation

We will not attempt a detailed chronological flow of events at Arts Co-op. Rather, we will review some early events and processes that took place, then turn to discussion of two core issues: the continuing struggle with IASC and the conflict that developed between David and the staff. We then provide a general summary of the achieved "state of the system" as on June, 1977, after five months of operation.

The reader should keep in mind that this selective, issue-focused approach leaves out a very great deal of the day-to-day life of the school: students came every weekday, got zestfully involved, by and large, with their work, their teachers, and their peers. And the artists who had joined the enterprise came on the days they were committed to and worked vigorously and innovatively at creating learning environments. In short, school was kept, and kept well in spite of a good deal of environmental turbulence and stress.

On the following page we show a chronological chart summarizing salient events of the five months; the reader may wish to refer back to it from time to time, since we do not stick to a strictly chronological flow.

Chart 7

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY IMPLEMENTATION EVENTS

Feb. 7: Opening Day. Eastern Players people come with community-building exercises.
Feb. 8-9: First days in art areas.
Feb. 10: More Eastern Players people and community-building.
Feb. 11: First visit of Ron Kirk, process consultant, with David and Arts Co-op.
Feb. 15: Second contact with Ron Kirk. Eastern Players return.
Feb. 17: First interdisciplinary day.
Feb. (third week): School settles into a routine.

March 4: First Administrative Council meeting since opening. Council decides to ask their Board representatives to the Representative Council to cut out the expenditure for part of the IASC Special Education Director's salary.
March 9: Three students have left the program. Rob Wolfe, sculpture staff member, announces he is leaving because he is over-extended; David is very concerned about the transition.
March 13: Article appears in the Waterton newspaper about Arts Co-op.
March 16: Student representative council is set up.
March: Ron Kirk interviews the staff for their reactions and feelings about the program so far.

April 6: A "meet the staff" night is held for the parents and students of Arts Co-op, in which staff members performed and displayed their work.
April 7: The regular Thursday staff meeting is held but David cannot be present. Complaints about interdisciplinary day surface.
April 7: The Administrative Council meeting at which Steinhoff goes public and explains his problems in the relationship to IASC and Kelman. A mediation session is set up.
April 25: All-day staff meeting is held. Goals are reviewed, suggestions are made.
April: Resolutions on the role of the Arts Co-op Administrative Council to limit its power is put before the IASC Representative Council. The vote is stalled through efforts of Jane Sobel, but a new resolution is then put in its place, addressed to <u>all</u> types of governing councils (other than the Representative Council) for IASC projects.

May 6: Mediation session takes place.

June 14: Student performance.
June 16: Last staff meeting of the year.
June 29: Representative Council passes a policy which has the effect of weakening and disenfranchising the Administrative Council.
June: Researchers' "system state questionnaires" administered to students and staff.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Early Implementation Period

The school

David Steinhoff	Director
Gladys Rosenau	First secretary (left November, 1976)
Susan Torra	Administrative Assistant, second secretary (November through March) Drama
June Thoreau	Third secretary (March-May)
Janie Rossiter	Fourth secretary (May-June)
Iris Blumen	Drama
Steven Farmer	Drama
Milton Ziegler	Music
Beth Baum	Theory and composition
John Berlin	Jazz
Marianne Grey	Kodaly
Canton Barry Greene	Voice
Adela Marani	Dance (Helped with auditions, but was never hired)
Jan Calder	Modern dance
Jack Friendly	Ballet and jazz dance
Georgette Falaise	Creative writing (playwright, left Jan. 1977)
J.R. Morello	Creative writing (poet)
Alice Theroux	Creative writing (poet)
Carole Barzini	Visual arts (painting, drawing)
Dan Brath	Sculpture (left January, 1977)
Rob Wolfe	Sculpture (January through March, 1977)
Boris Mara	Sculpture (March through June, 1977)

IASC

David Kelman	Executive Director
Pat Browning	Director for Special Education
Helen Barker	President, Representative Council

Early Events and Processes

Opening Day. The scene is the campus of the University of Waterton, a post-World War II institution in the south west end of the city, spanning an area about 10 blocks square. The buildings are a combination of 1950s brick box-like structures, converted two and three-story wood houses from the Victorian era, and several supermodern structures. The streets are tree-lined and car-lined and there is a park on the water at the south end of the campus.

It is 1:00 on February 7, 1977, the first day of Arts Co-op. Several schoolbuses, cars, and taxis pull up in front of Bergen Hall, one of the 50s brick boxes, and let off groups of teenagers in jeans and parkas carrying books and notebooks. They enter through the front door and go down the cinderblock stairwell to the basement, where the Arts Co-op office, dance room, and drama room are located. The students congregate in the long basement hallway outside these rooms and tentatively enter the dance room, a low-ceilinged, double-sized classroom with exposed pipes, small high windows, fluorescent lights and linoleum-over-concrete floors. Old wooden cafeteria tables and wooden and plastic chairs have been pushed and piled in a hodge podge to one end of the room. The room is ugly and dirty, but one long table has been stocked by David and the staff with fruit, snacks, soda and juice and this brightens the place up considerably.

Staff members are clustered around the door and sitting together on the tables and chairs at one end of the room. Jane Sobel is there, watching and smiling. David Steinhoff is running around, greeting students, many of whose names he has remembered from the recruitment and selection process.

Students are sitting and standing, some shy and alone, some comfortable and with their friends. They fill out name tags and information sheets. They are talking, laughing, chewing gum, and joking.

The researcher is present, with a tape recorder on her shoulder, and a camera around her neck, to record the sounds and sights of the first day. A few students strike "ham" poses for the camera, and others want to know if they will be able to see the pictures when they are developed.

At 1:25, David called for everyone's attention. Standing in the middle of the floor, sleeves rolled up, David introduced himself and the staff and began to tell the students and staff about the program, about its goals, and about his hopes for what would happen at Arts Co-op:

> I want to say a word about why this program came about because it's very important as you actually go through

it to have some concept of why you are here. I imagine that each of you had in mind a reason for applying to the Arts Co-op program, and we tried to present it as honestly as we thought it would be early. I see you as having two things while you're here, and you'll probably want to talk about this with us. One thing is simply a matter of training yourself as an artist, not necessarily as a professional artist but as an individual who has become very competent in dance or whatever. Another thing about working in an art is that it involves new forms of freedom, so at the same time you become more disciplined, more strict, and more able to make yourself do something well externally, you should also have all kinds of new possibilities opened up as to how you're going to do things. You're thinking about your work in art - much more open and much more multi form. It's two things really - both to become more disciplined and to become more free...

Another purpose of the program is to try to get to know people who make their lives as artists. Most of the people here make their lives largely as artists; many teach as well. But one of the things I hope you'll do is not just know them for their performing work and their training, but to get to know them in the larger sense. I see that also as <u>their</u> job as teachers - to know you in the larger sense.

Another thing that I think is very important and probably happens least in schools that I see is that you should get a lot from working with each other. ....All of you have been selected because you have something special to offer. You should get an awful lot from your peers and you should begin to develop a good knowledge of the others in the program, the other students - learn what they can offer you. The program should be as much based on that as it is based on what the teachers can teach.

The room had quieted down almost completely. Students were really listening hard now - having stopped chewing gum, rustling papers, jiving with their friends. David continued:

The greatest resource here is you; you have the most variety and challenge. Many of you will have more ability than any of us teachers, so you should begin to use each other and get to know each other...

David then talked about bringing something back to the sending communities, and gave students a sense of their dual participation in a regional project and as part of their sending districts. Then he brought up the question of decision making and the level of student participation and responsibility for the program:

In a project like this there's always the issue of ownership - who owns the project and makes what happens happen. Initially we as a staff have been working together, and things will start off through our initiation, but you people are all top caliber people. We have a good idea that many of you know how you want to grow, and you should very quickly have a hand in that. I myself would like to ask you to assume responsibility for certain things right off - broad general things, and later as we begin to work together, there will be more specific things for you to take care of.

For one thing, I think the spirit of the program should be high. You might have difficult times and get mad at each other, but basically there should be a high level of spirit and energy. I think one thing that's so devastating wandering around schools is that you get the feeling that they're not very fun places to be. This should be a fun place to be. It should be the kind of place where something good happens, where there's an opportunity to do something special, where everything can stop and we should just do it. There should be a lot of openness with this - it means you also have to have a good strong sense of what we need to do, and what we need to do is very fine work in our arts. That's the other thing - if you have to assume responsibility for one thing in this program - it's the quality of work, what you demand of yourself and of each other.

I have a number of other concerns, personally, as I see the program develop. One is the sense of community. It's really important that you break out very quickly from your little group in Warren, Adams, or Bailey, or Waterton, that you get to know the kids in the other areas, and you get to know what you can share and where you can mutually support each other. Maybe one good test of the program will be how many of you will be visiting each other in your homes.

David shared with them some of his worries about starting up a new program like Arts Co-op:

Another concern I have as the administrator of the program, is to build an institution. I don't know how well you relate to that, but it's very easy for a program like this to starve and dry up because it costs a lot of money. So one of the things we want to be sure and do is get our feet so well in the ground that it will be very hard to pull us out. So that means we're going to have to do a really good job, in terms of convincing these communities that this is an important thing to happen.

He disposed of administrative/bureaucratic procedures efficiently and gave the students a rationale for them:

> We will very quickly make clear what our rules are in terms of attendance and grading. It's very important that we deal with them in a concrete and definite way very quickly, so that from the view of the schools (the six communities), the program isn't viewed as something that's not serious...

In closing, David said:

> I'd like to end with a poem that was written by a 15-year old student, John Partridge, when he was a student in a program similar to this one:
>
> Some men think life is a fact
> It is something that just will be
> They spend it slowly
> They sit their life out with no regrets
> No unfulfilled dreams.
> They wish they could finish
> But I cannot do that.
> I must live my life
> I must cherish my life
> The life is the ultimate blessing and I shall not waste it.
>
> I can do while others sit
> I can act while others wait
> I will fulfill my dreams
> And my dreams will be fulfilling.

The room was hushed, moved. I stopped taking notes because the scratching of my pen was too loud and obtrusive. The moment lingered and then was over. David turned the rest of the afternoon over to the Eastern Players theater games people, Sally and Garth, and they got everyone up and moving, doing group building exercises, releasing the excitement and energy which had begun to build during David's speech.

The activity of the day was mostly physical, with the promise of discussion and follow up to come in subsequent sessions with the Eastern Players people. One exercise consisted of alphabetical arrangement in a circle by first name, and another of non-verbal arranging of the group according to lightness and darkness of pants or skirts. The obvious goals were to get students familiar with each other, to get to know each other's names, to set up slightly silly shared exercises to develop a sense of camaraderie, to bring into question perceptions of color, lightness, and darkness (both as artistic and social considerations, we would suppose). At times during the day, the noise level was nearly deafening; David closed the door to avoid bothering other university personnel in the hallway, but did not quiet the group in any way. Most of the staff participated in the exercises, and there was an easy feeling between students and adults.

David Kelman came in during the exercises, asking if the opening was going smoothly. He stayed through the rest of the afternoon, but it was hard to tell what his reactions were.[23] The formal activity ended before 3:00, and the rest of the time students and staff spent chatting, eating, and putting the room back together. Then, abruptly at 3:00, students went upstairs to catch their buses and rides home, and the big dance room looked dreary and empty once more. Jane, David and other staff were excited, optimistic, relieved and unbelieving that they had made it to and through this first day.

The Eastern Players people returned again on Thursday and then the following Monday, doing similar kinds of exercises, but with little articulation or explanation of intent or process. While students enjoyed what they called "the games", there was some question among both staff and students about the value of these days; most admitted that the first day had been good, icebreaking, but that the second and third days had not added much and had stolen time away from getting into individual art areas. But David felt that these days had done a tremendous amount toward building community, and in fact gave more credit to the Eastern Players people for the initial creation of the tone and atmosphere of the program than to his own staff.

On Tuesday and Wednesday of that first week, students spent their time in their art areas. Each teacher took a different approach. In the tiny cellar "art studio" four blocks away from the dance room, Rob Wolfe, the sculpture teacher, showed his students slides of his own work, believing that this was the easiest way for them to get a sense of him as artist and person. He also had the students each choose a rock to take home to "soften it up, live with it awhile, and feel what's inside it", so as to eventually be able to work with it. One of the Waterton kids asked if he could have a bag to carry it home in; he was laughing but was afraid he would be stopped and questioned about carrying a large rock around the streets of the city.

Carole Barzini, the painting teacher, gave her students an introductory speech on what to expect (emphasizing the dearth of materials, and the human wealth) and brought a coffee and tea pot; students loved the informality and coziness that she established immediately. On the first day in drama, Iris Blumen spent a good deal of time talking with the students, and everyone made costumes out of newspaper, creating for the group some aspect of themselves through the costume and the characterization they created. She also had them start journals containing their reflections, ideas, drawings, and poems.

The following day in drama, Steven Farmer had the students talk about where their families had come from, and then create a character from their family history:

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23)Kelman noticed the researcher and David taking photographs and later told David that this violated rulings about requiring permission and releases for every photograph of a student before it was taken. David and Jane were of the opinion that this was a selective enforcement of a rule that was on the books but not always observed.

Let's move around the room. Spread out. Take your own story and let's create a character, any character in your family. You can put them in any time, any place they could have been. Maybe the first thing we should do is figure out for a few minutes who we want to be. [The kids were spread out, variously moving, sitting, standing, thinking.]

Steven: What age is this person? Where do we want to be in this person's life? Has everyone got somebody in mind? I think you should take specific objects and move them near you, objects that this person would use, how you use it in this world. Don't worry about anyone else. Really set something up. If you need something, come and get it. If you need something and can't get it, pantomime it.

[Carolyn Garda was working with newspaper in the middle of the floor. Iris was on the floor pantomiming picking flowers. Art was writing in a notebook. Sheryl LaCroix was pantomiming sewing as she sat in a chair; she pricked her finger.]

Steven: O.K. You all have something real going on here now. Let's decide on things like climate, time of day. Also without using any words, just sounds, create the sounds that might be coming from this person, so the room should start squeaking with the sounds. Also your muscles, if you're old, if you're young. Are there particular tunes or melodies that might be special to this character? What's on the walls, the floors? What time of day is it? Do you take a break from what you're doing or is there no respite? What's outside? How does this person breathe? What day of the week is it? It could be a special day coming up. There could be a big decision coming up. There could be something important about to happen, or it could be a routine day. Who are the other people in your life? Now you've got your sounds and your shapes. Add some talking to yourself. You've got to be pretty courageous about it. It might not sound like the accent, but that's O.K. Get into the character.

[Moira McFadden was sitting in a pantomimed rocking chair, saying in a piercing Irish brogue "Go Jimmy, pick up the ball." She had been making little laughing sounds in a very aged voice and had captured the spirit so acutely that it felt as if her grandmother were actually in the room. Jan Romanec was speaking in Hungarian.]

> Steven: O.K. Now cut down on your sounds and talking and get back into your work. Keep holding on to it. You're all into something real. Hold onto it. Don't ever let it go. If you listen to me, listen as the character would listen. Now we're going to have one character louder than the others and we'll listen. I'll tap someone and they'll expand with the space.

The students were excited by what was happening at Arts Co-op that first week. Several had doubts (e.g. those who were already highly trained were concerned about having to backtrack for the sake of the untrained; some were confused by some of the non-traditional approaches and wondered when things were going to get serious; a few were simply not the right match for the program, including one drama student, a White girl from Harbor View, who was interested solely in one method of acting and dropped out after the first week.) But mostly, they were enthusiastic, amused, interested, and intrigued. A Black student from Waterton commented to the field worker that she really liked the school and hoped it would continue, that she had never met people like this before - either students or teachers.

The staff were also very much absorbed. Reflecting on the opening days at the staff meeting that week, Susan Torra (secretary, drama teacher), marveled at the smoothness and positiveness of the startup:

> On Monday I was even more nervous than David. I've seen for the past few months what he's been going through to try and get organized and get this thing off the ground, and to see it materialize is just incredible. And I'm amazed at how smoothly things happened. It doesn't seem this is the third day - it seems like the third week to me. Teachers and students adjusted so beautifully, I think that's really important in the beginning, to start off in such a positive way.

Rob Wolfe (sculpture) and J.R. Morello (creative writing) both felt the students were a little "tight", somewhat skeptical. J.R. commented that he thought the students were "sizing us up". Milton Ziegler had a different view:

> I've been feeling just the opposite of what you've been saying about the kids feeling a little intimidated. Our group of 15 has been exuberant in the classroom. Barry (Greene - voice) and I did a two hour music lecture today, with a lot of musical things. Barry sang, we played, and did a lot of things to demonstrate our points. But the kids were incredibly involved. Though we have some who don't read music - zero - we have some who are so skilled that when I put a record on, they can run up to the piano and play the chord progression right

> back. Without any request from me, kids were getting up, walking over to other kids, and explaining how to do things. It was always initiated by them, so that was a very exciting thing to happen. I'm exhausted from those two hours. I haven't taught high school in a long time and I'd forgotten how many questions there are to answer. You couldn't get a sentence out without a question. It really was interesting and different.

The ethic that students should help one another and share their skills and talent took root in many of the classes in these very first days, as in the music example above. In dance, Shirley, a Black girl from Waterton with no formal training, was having trouble getting the basic alternate arm/leg dance walk, and when she didn't pick it up from Jan Calder's instruction Karina, a highly trained White ballet student, worked with her and Shirley got it quickly.

But the "levels" problem was a fairly serious one in creative writing, music, and dance, and this strain was recognized immediately.

> J.R.: I do have a problem with a couple of the students who seem to be very far behind the others. Right now I'm playing it by ear. It's not only their writing skill but their whole academic background, which is very important really.

In dance and music, it was more a concern about losing the advanced students who might feel held back by the others. In creative writing, it was a question of the quality of education students had received, and that quality was not the same in the suburbs and the city. What it really boiled down to was that the minority kids had generally had less training and were in a position of starting out already "behind" the White kids.

The staff was also frustrated by the paucity of time. Jack Friendly (ballet and jazz) also taught at the Capital Arts Program in Fairport, and felt that because he had enough time there, he had those students dancing the way he wanted them to by the end of the semester; he did not have that confidence here, because of the fragmentation and short hours.

There was some resentment of the block of time that had been given to the Eastern Players people, considering how pressed the faculty felt about the time shortage. There was also some dislike of what could be construed as forced community building, using outsiders instead of relying on the talented Arts Co-op staff.

Operational concerns were not minor. Transportation was difficult; several of the towns were taxiing their students in, and some left it to the students, who had their mothers form carpools and drive them; this was an irritant to mothers and made students feel guilty about the

imposition. Parents were blaming the Arts Co-op Director, despite the fact that the superintendents had made it clear to David that the towns should take responsibility for transportation. The buses tended to be late, and often left without students, even when their classmates told the driver the student was on his/her way.

The classrooms were mostly dismal. The art studio flooded every time it rained, and the artists had to put all their work on platforms to keep it out of the inch of water that accumulated in the lightless dank area. The basement dance and drama rooms were dirty and ugly. The concrete floors were the worst surface a dancer could dance on, and the low ceilings inhibited jumps and vertical movement. The musicians were in a different room every day, and did not have a piano of their own. David Kelman had an old piano set up but it was so broken down and out of tune that it was a hopeless case; the musicians rejected it and it was consigned to the drama room, where the students closed the cover and used it as a seat and a prop. The creative writers were in a traditional and depressing classroom which J.R. took them out of at every possible opportunity - to the student center to talk, to the park and city to look and listen for ideas.

The tight budget was another important feature of the opening of Arts Co-op. Each art area had around $50 to spend on supplies and equipment, thus eliminating many possibilities immediately (for example, oil paints were too expensive for the visual artists; the musicians could not purchase a stereo recording equipment or amplifiers).

Because of IASC's insistence on David's attendance at their Wednesday afternoon meetings, two staff meetings were held each week at Arts Co-op, on Monday and Thursday. One half of the staff rarely saw the other half of the staff. The limited budget prevented many full staff gatherings.

There were numerous visitors to the school as soon as it opened - planners, IASC people, sending school and district personnel, researchers, evaluators, artists, and consultants. David made it clear to the staff at the first meeting that this was the nature of their situation, but that they were free to close their doors and post "do not disturb" signs when they wished. Still, it was a strain - especially in the first few days - on both staff and students to be scrutinized, even if they weren't doing anything special. And there was a good deal of discovery, risk taking, and sharing going on in the classes: visitors invaded the privacy of those experiences.

But in general, especially considering the frenzy of the preceding months, the opening of Arts Co-op went smoothly and easily. The goals and vision of the planners and implementers were clearly spelled out to staff and students, and there was evidence from the first week that Arts Co-op was on its way toward achieving some of those goals. Also, it appeared that the planners' assumptions had been well based, such as that of integration through interaction around a common interest in the arts.

There was a great deal of energy and warmth, and while the students were shy at first, and uncertain about what to expect, they were beginning to get a sense that this would be a different kind of educational experience. The staff was excited by the students, and anxious to get them involved in their art areas, to start sharing their skills and expertise. They were interested in the development of the school as a whole, but at this point they were more concerned with establishing a solid focus and plan for their classes.

The school week. By the third week of operation, the pattern had been established. Students went directly to their individual art area classes on every afternoon but Thursdays. Thursdays were "interdisciplinary day", and the whole school gathered in the dance room. In some art areas, such as music, students had different classes each day of the week (and were in a different room every day). David met with the staff in two groups on Monday and Thursday from 3:00 until 4:00.

Sorting into art areas. Given the structure of the program, it is not surprising that the program almost immediately sorted itself into art areas. For one thing, the classes were physically separated, spread out over a five block area. The autonomy David had given to each area made for a certain distinction between each area, and the variety of teaching approaches and philosophies among the faculty reflected the flexibility. And the planners had always anticipated that art area groupings would replace the groupings by town (the cross-disciplinary approach was in part aimed at countering too much encapsulation within disciplines).

The drama students painted their room bright yellow, got a donation of a wall-to-wall rust-colored rug, and made curtains, transforming their dreary space into one that was clean, bright, and very much theirs. The drama students always congregated in the basement hallway before classes, and considered themselves "a real clan".

The dancers, after they had changed into their dance clothes and leotards in the bathrooms, often locked the door of the dance room. Despite the "levels" problem, they soon established a tight cohesion and reliance on one another for help in technique and in taking responsibility for choreography. In particular, Jan's style of teaching emphasized student initiation and group choreography, which necessitated a certain degree of interdependence.

The visual arts students fixed up their basement as best they could, putting up shelves and displaying their work. Although the visual artists had among the worst physical conditions to cope with, there was always a cheery and warm presence in the studio, with some students working alone, others working in pairs, some floating around and giving advice, suggestions, or compliments to their peers.

In music, a core of the most highly talented musicians was forming, but absences (especially among several of the key Waterton students) cut into the group's development. Music students had the most fragmented

schedule and were divided up into a number of subgroups. Initially there were instrumentalists and vocalists, and later, because of the "levels" problem, the instructors split the instrumental class up into two different theory groups. One result was that most of the White students were in the more advanced group, while most of the Black students were together in the untrained group.

The creative writers, a small group to begin with, lost a few students early on, (including one Black girl from Waterton and one White boy from Harbor View, for different reasons). Creative writers felt distinct from the rest of the program. Said one, "We're not like the drama students - they fall all over each other and we don't do that." Furthermore, the creative writers were isolated in a separate building (dancers and actors were together in one, and visual artists and musicians in another), and most of the time J.R. took his students out of the classroom anyway - field trips into Waterton and to the city were designed to get students to draw on ordinary experience, and to use places like the city as a "character warehouse". Carole also took the visual artists to the city to several museums, and these shared experiences outside of the institutional confines further increased the cohesiveness of the individual art areas.

Interdisciplinary days. Once a week, on Thursdays, students and staff gathered in the large dance room for Interdisciplinary Day. It usually began with a few words from David, in which he asked students to respond to three or four questions about their feelings about the school. We have already described some of the staff disagreement about the interdisciplinary concept and the resentment of the mandated day each week. For those staff members, and for some of the students, it felt as if they were being wrested away from their intimate, focused, and quiet art areas into a noisy, confused, and hectic situation. The staff members who favored the idea were on the line to prove themselves. But the first interdisciplinary days were near-disasters. Iris, the main interdisciplinary staff person, attempted to organize the first one, but it didn't work. David felt that Iris' design had been

> over-manipulated, overly verbal. It should have been much simpler. We should have gotten things started and left it in the hands of the small groups. It should have been a more flexible plan. When I left the room, for the first time I've ever worked with Iris, I heard her voice go way up. She was trying to guide the thing with her voice. That should have been avoided.

The second week Jan tried it, but ran into problems of coordination with other staff members.

Some students liked being together with the rest of the school but many were confused by Thursdays, and commented in their weekly logs about their dislike of the weekly activity. By early March, most of the staff and a number of the students were furious about the weekly activities, as J.R.'s comment at a staff meeting indicates:

> You're calling this interdisciplinary day, but basically what it is is dance and drama, and we're playing with exercises that are good for actors and dancers. I don't understand where the interdisciplinary thing comes in here, because I don't see any other disciplines taking an active role in this. Afterwards we split up and say, "Well, take them and make them write and we'll call that writing; draw something and we'll call that art" but I don't think that's interdisciplinary. I think this thing is slipshod and is turning off some students, and I'm very upset because one of my best students was angry today that he had to waste two hours of his day on "playing games". I had to agree with him. I think standing there and doing a mirror might be good for actors, but especially since there's no follow-up, no discussion of why we're doing this, why is this important, why bother with it? Nothing like that goes on. [Chorus: Good point!]

In general, Susan Torra felt that the rhythm of the full group experiences was uneven and "every time the kids started dancing and getting hot, we said, 'ok, stop, let's go, try this now!'". And J.R. also felt that the students had been cut off before anything had been allowed to develop:

> They were starting to open up and had ideas and all of a sudden it was time to go. It had just started being really valuable.

A visiting artist asked what the point of interdisciplinary day was supposed to be, and David told him it was to get the kids involved in other art forms, as well as the social thing of getting the kids to know each other. The visitor suggested that "you might just tell them that instead of having them go through exercises," but David felt it took more than merely telling them.

Finally, the forced community building within this context of disagreement boomeranged in that it made staff and students more certain that they preferred to spend their time in their own areas. Lamented Carole, "I need that extra day so badly with my kids." There were a number of factors which contributed to the unsuccessful attempt to get across the notion of the interrelatedness of the arts and to build community through whole-school activity. Some of these were larger problems affecting other areas of operation as well:

- Lack of money. This prevented David from calling all-staff meetings to work out a joint philosophy and purpose for interdisciplinary activity. It also led to minimal joint planning between and among two or more members of the staff (e.g. the music staff and dance staff), since much of the interdisciplinary planning was done on staff's own time and on the telephone at night.

- Planning problems. Given the difficulty of grasping the concept and getting it across (both to doubting staff and to naive students), the planning for the activity had a hard time envisioning what would happen and what would or would not be effective. There was a tension between how much structure and how much flexibility a plan for this activity should have, and what would most effectively release creativity.*

- The difficulty of working with the large group. In the small art area groupings, there was little separation between ethnic groups or between teachers and students. But when the entire program was together, in these first months, there was a clear distinction between the adults and the teenagers, between teachers and students. More strikingly, it was in the large group where ethnic tensions appeared. During the first interdisciplinary day, Iris asked the students to lie down on the floor; the Black students were not willing to do this, and there was some scurrying to get some rugs to lie on. But the effect was that the Black students acted as a bloc and there was a certain depersonalization that occurred as a result. Staff members noticed that the only time that Black/White tensions seemed to come up was in the large group.

- David's tendency to blame individuals. After each interdisciplinary activity, the Thursday staff meeting dissected what had happened, and David usually affixed blame to one or more staff member. In fact, he began losing faith in Iris (whom he had considered as one of the key people prior to this) after the first interdisciplinary day failure. This critical, individualistic approach took attention away from the larger level of disagreement about the concept, and provided little in the way of a framework for avoiding the pitfalls.

- Lack of follow-up and articulation. As with the lack of verbal discussion and clarity about the Eastern Players "games", there was little explanation or articulation about what the faculty was trying to do on Interdisciplinary Day. Undoubtedly, this was partly because the staff were not sure themselves. While David felt it wasn't so terrible for the kids to see the staff struggling and problem-solving, J.R. and Steven felt that they weren't providing good examples of problem solving. Steven felt:

> Some concept should have been stated, so that there was a theme we could constantly illuminate and go back to. With that functioning, everything sort of comes out of that.

1. The redesign of Interdisciplinary Day. By the end of March, it was clear that interdisciplinary day was not working, and David and the staff decided to reorganize it. Their first move was to set up one

*David added in his comments that he had "also underestimated how much planning was needed."

four-week cycle, but as one staff member said, there was still no overall concept. At the April 7 staff meeting where David was not present, the staff aired further complaints about the interdisciplinary day. The real problem was that the staff felt that it was impossible to try to do amorphous, conceptually vague, and complex interdisciplinary exercises with students who had no understanding of the art forms involved in the first place.

Said J.R.:

> David has some kind of mental block about this. He doesn't see you just can't offer sophisticated exercises to beginners.

Jan agreed, recounting how in her interdisciplinary group that day, the music staff person had brought in different kinds of music that people had danced to in history, and tried to have the students count out the music and then dance to it. But the students were overwhelmed - especially those who were neither dancers or musicians. And the music was difficult besides. Reported Jan:

> They said, 'how am I going to do all that complicated stuff if I don't know how to dance.' Then they said, 'Why don't you do it, and I tried it, and I couldn't dance to it!

The staff clarified for themselves that the students wanted to learn about other disciplines, that the staff members themselves could do much better if they were to offer basic skills in their own art areas to students from other disciplines, that the staff needed to do a lot of work together on the notion before they tried to work with the kids, and that the students were not fooled about the lack of organization and staff understanding of the concept.

J.R. felt:

> The students don't have any respect at all for this day, because it's never presented like it's organized ....Thursday they come in and they are different people. They have no respect for anything we are going to do because they know we don't like it.

The upshot of this discussion was that a second redesign took place, where staff offered basic skills in their own art areas or some project related to their own areas to students from other disciplines. They set up a series of month-long or 6-week-long cycles with stable groupings and more limited goals.*

A staff member reflected on the early interdisciplinary days and the necessity for the redesign:

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*David did point out in his comments that their data showed that while some students said they disliked the interdisciplinary days, "many said they liked it, especially after it was reorganized."

> Both staff and students felt frustrated by its lack of comprehensible goals. It seemed too remote and conceptual for most of us. The director's stubbornness on this point had to be overcome so that we could begin to address the needs of students who simply wanted to study basics in an art area different from their own. We had to devise mini-courses that were structured and clearly defined.

While this new orientation was more effective, some staff members still felt it was not valuable enough to take time away from their art areas, and others were simply not pleased with the products they were getting from these Thursday gatherings. One of the main problems was that staff members felt lacking in enough knowledge about another art form to make all the connections clear - for example, in one of the first interdisciplinary days, Carole tried to use musical language to describe line, form, and movement in drawing, but ran up against her own ignorance about musical terminology and felt she was out of her element. The redesign exacerbated this situation, since staff members were again isolated from one another and were not there to exchange expertise between their own and other fields. Still the redesign was a positive step - it reduced the uncertainty and also cut down on the amount of coordination and planning that was needed.

Students still benefited from the interdisciplinary activities in that by the end of the year they were making some of the kinds of connections that David had hoped for. In Steven Farmer's group, a dancer asked a musician, "When you hear this piece of music, do you think of what your feet are doing to it?" The musician answered that it was difficult for her to listen that way because she generally focused on the music of it, and this led the two of them into an analysis of the relationship between music and movement.

But the tension around the interdisciplinary day was probably the core issue which divided the staff and separated the director and the staff. David, in this situation the generalist administrator, had institutional and whole-program goals which were perceived by some staff as either at odds with or not relevant to their professional teaching needs as specialist artists. Also, we will recall that there were two staff meetings each week, on Monday and Thursday, with a different faculty group attending on each day. The Thursday staff meetings spent a lot of time talking, blaming and disagreeing about the interdisciplinary activity which had just taken place. On Monday, however, the faculty usually just received a report of the previous Thursday and there was much less tension. It is also significant that Milton arranged his music staff's schedule so that there were no music faculty there on Thursday. (The ostensible reason for this was that there were five staff members in music, and assigning any of them to interdisciplinary day would have been a waste of one staff member's expertise and skill. Milton had never been hot on the interdisciplinary notion, but rather than fighting it, he simply circumvented it altogether.) There was a morale problem among the "Thursday" staff which eventually erupted into the conflict between the director and the staff in June. We will detail this later.

Problems and problem-solving. There were a number of problems confronting the new system of Arts Co-op. Most of them were identified by the participants themselves. David constantly evaluated the system and looked for weak spots and problem areas. He used other people (staff, consultants, visitors) to help point out further weaknesses. He had the students fill out weekly logs which always included a question requiring a negative response or problem definition - e.g. "What do you like least about the program so far?"

The "levels" problem, that is the different amounts of prior training students had had in each art area, was anticipated even before school opened, and turned out to be a real concern in dance, music, and creative writing. It was also related to integration, since the minority students had generally had less formal training than the White students, and thus was a more serious concern in terms of the overall goals of the school.

By the middle of February, David said he saw "race, coordination and overintellectualization" as the three major problems of the developing social system. At about the same time, Ron Kirk, the process consultant, identified four strains in the system:

1. The external relationship and the problems between the two Davids.
2. The fact that there is a lot of stress, a large number of things to do, lack of time, and a difficulty in connecting with other people and these may contribute to major problems among staff.
3. A too-central director.
4. The underfunding which makes problems in space, equipment, and time.

(In our questionnaire, given in May and June, nine or more of the staff cited the following problems as serious or moderate:

- inadequate physical plant
- inadequate supplies, materials, equipment
- inadequate budget
- inadequate teaching time
- student attendance
- not enough time for the staff to get together.)

David was most concerned about the attendance problem, which was the worst in the music area. To a certain degree David felt that some of the students were not committed enough, but he also worried that the music and drama areas were too fragmented and students were not getting enough. Visual arts, on the other hand, was the most stable of the art areas in terms of attendance and students staying with the program, and dance was the most cohesive, in the close relationships and interdependence which existed among the staff and students.

Interestingly, only David said on his questionnaire that "poor relations with IASC central administration" was a serious problem. Seven

of the staff members thought it was a minor problem and four did not know. Thus, David's buffering of the staff from the continuous and (from this observer's perspective) serious problems with IASC was very effective, probably too much so, in that the staff could have been more supportive had they realized the extent of the pressure on their director from the environment.

1. Reflexivity. Mostly due to David's initiation, he, the staff, and the students did a great deal of self-evaluation, diagnosis, reflection, and criticism of their social system. They used a number of written instruments. These included:

1. Student questionnaires designed by David and the staff, which were filled out by both the teacher and the student. These were administered the first week of school and then again at the end of the semester. They aimed at defining level of skills, proficiency, areas of interest and need, and personal goals and objectives.

2. Weekly logs written by the students on Thursdays in answer to a few questions David would pose (e.g. "Give one instance where you helped or were helped by another student;" "What went well for you this week;" "What are your complaints?") These logs were placed in a folder in the common office area so staff, students and visitors could glance through them.

3. Two sets of grading reports which contained written paragraphs on the student's progress and participation.

In addition, Arts Co-op participated actively with our research project, and in May and June, we administered comprehensive questionnaires about "the state of the system" to staff and students. The school received copies of the results, and David reviewed some sections carefully, such as the questions on goals. He noticed a lack of clarity about some of the goals, and made a note to make those clearer when school started again in the fall.

As part of the research relationship, our research project brokered and paid for a process consultant, Ron Kirk, from a human-potential center in Northtown. After initial conversations, Kirk was hired by David in February to look at the social system and suggest possible interventions. He spent about six hours of intense discussion with David, who was quite open and frank with him about his worries and hopes for the program, and on Ron's suggestion, agreed to have the staff members interviewed. Kirk spent an hour with each staff member and also interviewed Jane Sobel. He produced a four-page summary report which pointed out the high centrality of the director, and noted a number of other characteristics of the new system, including the positive feelings of the staff, the startup "bugs", the factors constituting the "major threats to Arts Co-op long-term success" (funding and the relationships with the sending schools), the disagreement about interdisciplinary day, the staff's commitment to the school and their loyalty to

David, and the appropriateness of the director's centrality given the needs of the organization (but he did caution the Arts Co-op participants about the heavy burden this placed on the director, and the need to monitor those pressures).

Kirk also suggested one intervention which was seemingly minor, but which was related to Arts Co-op's vulnerability to the outside and its need to present a good public front. Kirk told David that it was hard to tell what space within the university was really Arts Co-op's, and the worst place was the office and the common area outside the office, which was shared with a few other offices located in the basement area. He told David that he had observed that outsiders seemed to have a hard time knowing where to go, how to identify Arts Co-op, and how to get attention. Ron called these problems "boundary management". This made immediate sense to David, and he commented on how this was exactly where an external consultant could be most helpful - in seeing the things that were not obvious to the insiders. David then demarcated a corner of the common room and his office, decorating it with the yellow and black Arts Co-op fliers, putting up a bulletin board with clippings, art, photographs, and notices, and placing some chairs underneath. He and Susan devised a visitors' form which included a schedule of what art areas met when and where, and a place for visitor comments and reactions.

Staff meetings were devoted to both business and reflection, and it was always appropriate to bring up discussion of a school problem or need. And on April 25, during a vacation week, an all-day all-staff meeting was held, the first time since the pre-operational period that the whole staff was able to be together. David asked them first to think about their dreams - "if the door were open, what kind of program would you dream up?" But the staff was not ready to think in global terms, and responded with specific criticisms of the current program. They also reviewed the planning goals and assessed how well they were doing at accomplishing them, and discussed operational concerns such as site and facilities, and scheduling. In addition to the discussion of goals, the following topics were discussed at this meeting:

- the degree of looseness and structure in the program
- the interdisciplinary aspects
- the lack of unity
- a need to instill an overall appreciation of the arts in the students
- the level of talent of the students
- the question of product and performance
- the level of student commitment
- the short amount of time for teaching
- grading
- the staffing pattern (should there not be more than one teacher per area to cut down on the fragmentation?)
- IASC pressures regarding lesson plans and supervision

David initiated most of the formal reflexive devices. He also set

the tone for continual informal reflection and criticism. David's personal style was highly critical; complexity and paradox were obvious to him - even when he was pleased with something he was all too able to see its flaws and potential for improvement. One of our researchers noted that his style "emphasized very much picking out the negative or difficult parts of things, and this was done after [he gave] a kind of ritualistic praise." Jan Calder commented to the fieldworker after such a discussion at the staff meeting following her early try with interdisciplinary day, "Did you ever notice how he's always saying 'thank you' [for your effort] and 'I'm sorry' [that things got botched up]?" David was almost cranky at times if he felt the work was not up to what it should be, or if teachers were teaching in a way that he disliked, felt was ineffective, or insensitive. He spent nearly all of the time from 1:00 to 3:00 observing classes and talking to students. He was also quite critical of the students. He had worked with students in California who were not identified as highly talented but who came in off the street, and constantly felt that the Arts Co-op students, by comparison, did not put out as much as the California kids and were much less sophisticated. After a Thursday all-school discussion on possible projects the students might do in their communities, David told the staff that he thought the ideas from the students had been very trite. But Steven Farmer objected, saying that the simplest ideas are where you start, because the ideas would metamorphose in the process, with help from the staff. Steven pointed out that students had come up with ideas to combine poetry and ballad, to use media to explore different cultures, and said:

> I mean, that's what we're talking about here. So how could those ideas turn you off? You probably would have shot down Sam Beckett for being about two people who don't go anywhere!

There were times when David was tactless or impatient, and his criticalness was hard for some students and staff to take. But he wasn't playing any games with it, but was striving for excellence and quality that he and everyone else could be proud of, and this eventually became clear to people. He felt that staff members had a good enough sense of their professional abilities and would not be threatened by criticism.

Constantly collecting data, diagnosing the organization, and emphasizing the problems they were facing, David concentrated on the actions of individuals, rather than the whole system, going for the name of the student or staff member being described in an incident or example. He was extremely closely involved with the minute to minute, day to day, and week to week operations of the school.

Yet with all this reflexivity, criticalness, and self-awareness, there was a surprisingly low level of follow-up and real analysis of the underlying structures and conflicts. David was always in touch with the immediate concerns, but was shocked when the conflict with the staff blew up in June, because he had been unaware of their frustration and anger, as well as of the structural conditions which made the staff's

position powerless. Further, though David had decided, in general, not to confront racial issues directly, many staff felt that students were "left hanging" after a tense or potentially conflictful situation (such as the first interdisciplinary day). David had had group process training years earlier at National Training Labs, but his previous boss had operated completely one-to-one and he adopted her style. Besides, David said, they had done too much process work and analysis at the California school and he wanted to avoid that.

So the overall impression is that of a system that was highly reflexive about the immediate concerns and problems of the program, but was less reflexive about organization-level issues - power/hierarchy/ decision-making questions and the beneath-the-surface conflicts and tensions between the staff and the director.

Relations with the Environment

The continuing struggle with IASC. When the school opened, the situation between IASC and Arts Co-op grew even worse. Now, David and Jane were not only fighting Kelman and IASC about the overallgovernance structure and the role of the Administrative Council, but were also fending off IASC interference with the daily operation and management of the internal program. In this section, we will look at four areas/ issues of disagreement and conflict between the two organizations, including

1. The rewrite of David Steinhoff's job description
2. IASC activity and interference with the internal system of Arts Co-op
3. Attaching a percentage of Pat Browning's salary to the Arts Co-op budget
4. The disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council

The reader should be alerted to the case study themes which are particularly salient to this section: standardization versus uniqueness, organizational continuity, and power.

1. The rewrite of David Steinhoff's job description. David Kelman took the job description which the planners had developed and hired David Steinhoff to fill, and replaced it with the job description Kelman had written to cover all other IASC project directors, all of whom headed programs for the handicapped. Jane Sobel and the Administrative Council objected to this change, but Kelman again justified it by saying that Arts Co-op came under the Special Education Law.

2. IASC interference with the internal system of Arts Co-op. Kelman had certain ideas about curriculum, supervision, and management which were in conflict with those of Arts Co-op planners and implementers. When he took over IASC, he developed structures and procedures to make IASC programs more clearly organized and accountable. Most of these procedures were developed for programs for the handicapped, in which

close supervision was necessary and behavioral objectives not inappropriate. But Arts Co-op had never been conceived by the planners in that way; no one had answers about what really nurtured creativity, except that the P/I group agreed that flexibility and individual attention were appropriate where rigid curriculums and procedures were not. Specifically, the concrete areas of conflict included: lesson plans, bus supervision, management, budget and money handling, attendance at IASC meetings, and contact with the environment. (There were many more areas of disagreement, but these will suffice to indicate the extent of the threat to Arts Co-op's autonomy.)

(a) Lesson plans. IASC demanded that Arts Co-op staff produce lesson plans for the semester. The staff felt this was ridiculous, not applicable to their task, and a waste of their time. Said J.R.:

> I couldn't think of anything more useless, next to a screen door on a submarine. Besides, they don't pay enough to do that kind of stuff - my salary is just not commensurate with being bogged down by all that administrative crap.

It was clear that neither J.R. nor the rest of the staff viewed these formal lesson plans as an educational aid, but rather as an external hindrance. But Kelman commented on several occasions that he felt Arts Co-op had no curriculum and that he could not sell a program without a written curriculum; his attempt to impose lesson plans may have been connected to this feeling. But it also came out of a particular educational approach in vogue at the time: defining behavioral objectives and then designing specific means to accomplish them, with various indicators along the way.

This issue was not resolved in this period. David Steinhoff took the problem, along with other concerns, to the Administrative Council, who supported him. The controversy made its way to the Commissioner, through a contact Jane Sobel had through Margaret Howard Stanley on the State Board of Education: the Board member told Carr that IASC was "strangling" Arts Co-op. Carr, however, spoke to Kelman and told him he would not get involved in local affairs. There was a stalemate; Kelman and Browning, his special education programs director, continued to write memos demanding compliance, and actually took over an Arts Co-op staff meeting (uninvited, without informing anyone of their coming),[24] to press their rationale and policy for lesson plans and evaluation.

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24 When Steinhoff objected verbally and in writing about this, Kelman replied that

> The Executive Director as well as his or her designee has the right to enter into IASC programs unannounced. In addition, it is the prerogative of the Executive Director to meet with the staff of that program, and if he so wishes will supersede the program director's original agenda for his staff meeting.

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(b) Bus supervision. Students arrived at Arts Co-op at 1:00 via carpool, taxi, or, most often, school buses. Kelman insisted that these arrivals and departures must be supervised (in fact, he started out by insisting on visual supervision of students for every moment of the school's operation), since he, as the Executive Director, and the Representative Council of IASC, were legally responsible. Steinhoff and the staff felt this was ridiculous, and so did the superintendents on the Administrative Council. Said Jacob Rute after a long argument in an Administrative Council meeting on this subject:

> I'll sign a statement now absolving IASC of the responsibility for the supervision of Warren kids at all times if we can just put an end to this ridiculous discussion.

And the students were angry and insulted, feeling that they were being treated like irresponsible babies. At first they held the move against the Arts Co-op staff and administration, but they began to learn that the demand came from IASC; about this time (March, 1977) they also began to separate out IASC from Arts Co-op.

Despite support from the Administrative Council and a consensus from all other participants that this kind of supervision may have been appropriate for special education programs but not for Arts Co-op, the IASC supervision policy prevailed, and staff and students made sarcastic comments about the situation to the researcher.* (Eventually, especially during the second year, this evolved into a greeting time in which staff and students congregated in the entrance hall or outside.)

(c) Management and general supervision. On the day of the going-away party for Susan Torra (March 17, 1977), Pat Browning visited the program. He then wrote Steinhoff a memo about his observations and his complaints.

[cont'd]
Steinhoff replied that:

> entrance into a meeting, especially such a small one as are my staff meetings, by two people who are uninvited and give no prior notice, and the consumption of a considerable portion of the meeting time without any consultation with the Program Director as to the agenda, is discourteous even though they may have the right to do these things.

*David Steinhoff, in his comments, said:

> I never fought the bus supervision issue...when it became clear that IASC would make a point of it, we simply asked the kids to help us.

He accused students of being unsupervised and of "milling around". When Steinhoff asked for a clarification of "milling around", Browning said that one stude had been playing the flute, another was writing, and another was playing the piano. Steinhoff hit the ceiling, saying that this did not constitute "milling around", that students were engaged in independent productive activities, and anyway, this was a party. But the general area of disagreement was around supervision and whether it was necessary at Arts Co-op to have visual supervision at all times or not.

(d) Other issues. There were a number of other conflicts between IASC and Arts Co-op which interfered with the daily operation of the program.

- IASC meetings. A memo from Pat Browning to David Steinhoff reprimanded Steinhoff for being late to the required meetings of all IASC program directors, and told him to readjust his schedule so that he would be on time. Replied Steinhoff:

  > You state that I should readjust my schedule to attend the Program Directors meeting at 2:30. You are aware that my supervision activities at Arts Co-op are the reason why I do not attend the meetings until 3:30. This, however, should not provide a reason to permit an inaccurate record to exist.

- Approving Arts Co-op procedures. IASC would not allow Steinhoff to begin screening procedures for the following year until they had approved the procedure. Said Steinhoff in a memo to Browning:

  > At your request I reviewed this procedure with you and discussed it with the Pupil Service Directors at a meeting in January. I have told you that the screening was to be completed by the end of April. You have insisted that I cannot complete screening until you have approved the procedure. It is now almost May.

- Budget and funds. David told Ron Kirk, the consultant,

  > Every time we've dealt with IASC on money, they've screwed us up. And they do this under the veneer of providing organizational consistency, saying that I have an artist's temperament.

David discovered at the end of the term that J.R and Carole were having trouble getting funds from their Artist-in-Residence grants. IASC had withheld $1,700 on J.R.'s grant and $1,400 on Carole's because they claimed that the payment forms had not been filled out correctly.

In another case, David noticed a grant application from an Arts Co-op staff member still sitting in the IASC office past the submission deadline when it had been IASC's responsibility to sign it and send it off.

Finally, there was some suspicion (founded or not) that although Arts Co-op could probably have gotten additional funds from Title IV-c, Kelman would not support a proposal since his pet project for autistic children was also funded by Title IV-c and was thus in competition for those monies with Arts Co-op.

- Contact with the environment. Kelman also cut off contact between Steinhoff and the area superintendents, requiring that "prior to writing to any School Superintendent within Winchester County, I would appreciate prior notification from your office regarding the content of such a potential letter." This demand, apart from showing a lack of trust and respect for Steinhoff by Kelman, also hampered Steinhoff's attempts to gain support, to discuss important issues and regional concerns, and to recruit new towns for participation. It also meant double the amount of paper work for every contact. This was one of a number of similar moves by Kelman to control the flow of information into and out of Arts Co-op.

Each of these IASC actions had a direct effect on Arts Co-op. At the same time, the daily arguments and memos from IASC made it impossible for Steinhoff to give his full attention to the program. Some staff members understood the trickle-down effect of the IASC struggles in making their director preoccupied, tense and upset. Iris, who rode home with David frequently, heard more about the IASC conflict than the other staff members, whom David buffered from his worries. Said Iris to the researcher:

> I think David's been hindered and harassed every step of the way, and he's taken it all on himself...And the fact that he has to spend all his time writing those memos - it makes me furious because it's draining him, and he's so able. He really could bring so much more positive stuff to the program.

3. The disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council, Round 1. It was in January that Kelman inserted part of Pat Browning's salary and part of Browning's secretary's salary (amounting to $3,800 altogether) into each IASC project budget, including Arts Co-op's. The Arts Co-op budget had already been approved by the Administrative Council. In a memo to the Administrative Council, David Steinhoff brought this to their attention, along with other changes Kelman had made in cutting the salary for the secretary, and the rate of pay for the staff, and changing allocations for materials, equipment, supplies, duplication, telephone, and postage.

By the March meeting of the Administrative Council, the members had begun to realize and be concerned about these changes and the method of making them. The debate over attaching Pat's salary moved to the Representative Council, who voted on the budgets for each project. The matter came up at the March 16 Representative Council meeting and

Jacob Rute attended to speak for the Administrative Council. The following excerpt from the meeting is notable because it underlines the major conflicts around governance, autonomy, and uniformity.

Jim Samara: (central office of Waterton, former planning committee member): What is the salary for special education director and secretary doing under there?

Kelman: I'll come back to that decision we made in September in the Representative Council that all programs are under the aegis of the Special Education Director, and a portion of his salary is paid for by each program.

Jacob Rute: Well, David [Kelman], the Administrative Council of Arts Co-op is opposed to including this in the Arts Co-op budget. We are questioning the rationale for being included as a Special Education program.

Kelman: The question is: are we treating Arts Co-op differently from other programs of IASC?

Jane Sobel: (under her breath) Yes.

Representative Council member: The question is how much administrative time is going into Arts Co-op.

Kelman: The real question is the relationship of IASC to Arts Co-op as a conduit, or is it a program of IASC?

Jacob Rute: I guess you have some questions to answer there. It was a program of five towns originally, and was not for all of IASC. And under the grant you already have the IASC administrative costs. But this is a double tax.

Kelman: Chuck Gould, the Consultant for the Gifted and Talented in the State Department, comes directly under Rabinowitz, the head of Special Education, and the same applies here.

Steinhoff: But...

Kelman: I'm sorry, Mr. Steinhoff, but you are not recognized. I again say that the question is between whether this is just a conduit or a program of IASC.

Jacob Rute: I think you have the choice.

Kelman: I cannot support a conduit.

Representative Council President: I think that's an issue for the Representative Council to take up at some point, as to whether we wish that kind of position.

Representative Council member: At the last meeting, we asked Pat specifically if he did in fact spend a large portion of his time there and he said yes.

Pat: And I have documentation.[25]

Jane Sobel: It's unfortunate if we have to consider all programs as having to be uniform. It seems to me that it's still possible for IASC to have different procedures for different programs. There are not only two routes. There are other ways to do things.

.....

Kelman: I'm going by the guidelines of the state including the gifted and talented under special education.

Jacob Rute: No you are not. They are not saying you have to do th . You made that as an administrative decision.

Kelman: The point of it is for supervision, and administration includes supervision and paper work and taking care of petty cash, and Arts Co-op uses petty cash.

Jacob Rute: (angrily) You don't have to tell me what administration is. I'm objecting to your decision. Now look, each town paid $1,000 in support of this program. If there is any way that we can decrease tuition, we must do it. You've been talking steadily about that and talking about cost effectiveness for six months. I don't think this is a fair burden to put on this program.

Kelman: You're saying that we'll make an exception for Arts Co-op over all other IASC programs? If I said to you that kids aren't being supervised properly at Arts Co-op what would you say?

Jacob Rute: That that is David Steinhoff's responsibility.

Kelman: But ultimately it comes to me. I can't run to Arts Co-op every week - I don't have that kind of time. Thus I have appointed Pat as my designate and Pat might know special education but what he really knows is administration and how to set up a program. You don't need to know the field, but you can still set up a program.

At this last comment, Jacob Rute and Jane Sobel gasped and protested Kelman's assumption. But then another Representative Council member said that he did not think Arts Co-op should be treated any differently than

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25) According to Steinhoff, it was untrue that Browning spent most of his time on Arts Co-op--in fact, it was a "real whopper." An interesting sidelight is that Kelman had called Charles Cocteau earlier in the week, asking if Cocteau knew that Pat had been doing curriculum work and had been visiting the program once a week. Cocteau asked Steinhoff about this and Steinhoff told Cocteau it was a lie. Jane Sobel commented after this meeting of the Representative Council that this was an instance where Kelman counted on people not to call him or his staff liars.

other IASC programs, and the Representative Council passed the Arts Co-op budget, leaving in all of Kelman's changes.

Several weeks later the researcher spoke with Kelman at an Arts Co-op show and asked him about his decision to include Pat in the Arts Co-op budget. Kelman said that it was because the membership dues only cover 35 per cent of the IASC budget. Kelman said he had wanted and asked for higher membership dues from the Representative Council, but had been turned down; attaching Pat's salary to the projects had not been his most preferred route,[26] but it was financially necessary.*

As Geoff Pampas from the Administrative Council commented:

> I think it's unfortunate that IASC has to be building an organization at the same time as Arts Co-op is building a program.

4. The Disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council, Round 2. By early April, David Steinhoff had decided to share his concerns about the relationship with IASC with the Administrative Council. Kelman was present as he usually was at these meetings. In a 20-minute statement, Steinhoff first outlined the goals of the program, particularly that "Arts Co-op was established to deal with students who need a special setting in which to develop their extraordinary artistic talent and who cannot develop their creativity in the regular school." He made a case for why it was inappropriate to classify Arts Co-op as a "special education program", and how

> despite these and other differences, IASC has tended to categorize this program with its special education programs for the handicapped or disturbed students. Thus, some of the procedures imposed...are more restricting than those employed in the regular high schools in the area.

Finally, David brought up the governance structure which had been developed by the planning committee, and stated that IASC's interpretation of that structure did not appear to be consistent with the one the planning group had devised.

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26) Kelman also told the researcher he had read her summary report of the planning and that it had been helpful and clarified things for him. He specifically referred to the governance structure, and the fact that the report had stated that the director of Arts Co-op would ultimately be responsible to the IASC Executive Director and the Representative Council. In a later Administrative Council meeting, Kelman tried to quote "p. 11 of the CPR report" in support of his views on governance, but Jane Sobel cut him off, saying that was not an official document related to the governance structure.

* But, said Steinhoff after reading the case, Kelman ended the year with at least $40,000 in excess funds.

Charles Cocteau and Jacob Rute supported David Steinhoff's assertions. Cocteau said of the planning group:

> We considered this program as a part of IASC but as an extraordinary program that could almost operate on its own. I think there is a tragedy that can happen here, and the only ones who will suffer will be the kids. Any administrative problem should be something we should be able to work out in a cooperative way. I would hate to see the program go down the drain because of this conflict.

And Rob Harkness took the discussion away from an argument between Kelman and Steinhoff, out of the personal and into the institutional, asking

> What is the role of IASC in relation to Arts Co-op? The air is heavy, but I think there's a 'who runs what' problem here.

Harkness then organized a mediating session to work out some of the problems between Steinhoff and Kelman, composed of Harkness, Jacob Rute, Charles Cocteau and Geoff Pampas, and to make clearer 'who runs what' in relation to Arts Co-op.[27] Kelman wrote a letter to Harkness renaming the session a "clarifying session" and stating he would not necessarily be bound by their actions. Harkness was furious. The session took place in May. The outcome was that Kelman backed off from some of his close supervision demands; there was agreement that the Representative Council did have ultimate responsibility for Arts Co-op, but that "the focus of action to be taken about the Arts Co-op program will be in the Administrative Council." Apparently, at the mediation session, Harkness had told Kelman that the participating towns still held the real power, because the Title IV-c funds were in their names, and they could pull the program and its funds away from IASC. Harkness told the Administrative Council after the session that "I think we have as much power as the Representative Council."

But once again, like the planners, the Administrative Council settled for informal assurances and got no formal or legal backing or clarification about the governance of Arts Co-op. They did have the kind of power Harkness was referring to, but the question was - would they use it if they had to?

5. The Disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council, Round 3. In the meantime, Kelman and the Representative Council were taking up the matter of the role of the Arts Co-op Administrative Council, eventually expanding their considerations to writing a policy statement on such

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27) The researcher was denied access to this meeting.

councils that would apply to all IASC projects. The Representative Council, in mid-April, put the following motion on the floor:

> VOTE: Resolved that the Arts Co-op Administrative Council is an advisory body to the Arts Co-op program and not an administrative and/or decision making body.

Kelman produced a statement addressed to the Representative Council which traced some of the rationale for his views on the governance structure. He stated that it was David Steinhoff's position that

> initial governance of the Arts Co-op Program rests with the Administrative Council with final approval by the IASC Representative Council; that the Executive Director of IASC is an ex officio member of the Administrative Council, thereby exercising limited authority over the programmatic and procedural concerns of Arts Co-op.

Kelman then went on to say that

> Having reviewed prior Representative Council meetings from September, 1975 until July, 1976, the IASC administration has found no evidence that the Representative Council has charged a separate body with the governance of a specific IASC program and/or superseded the authority of the Executive Director to exercise administrative control over the Arts Co-op Program.

It should be noted that at the time Kelman refers to, the IASC Representative Council did not normally sit on matters such as this. They were a fairly inactive body, and the assertion that they didn't "charge a separate body" obscures the fact that at that time, the actions the planners took were completely legal and rational and should have been protected. Again we see here the issue of organizational continuity.

Finally, Kelman warned the Representative Council that

> If the Representative Council decides to provide the Arts Co-op Administrative Council with direct governance, you are cautioned to remember that the council is made up of member and non-member towns within Winchester County. Only the member towns are legally responsible for the Arts Co-op Program.

This was the disenfranchisement move. Jane managed to do some successful politicking to prevent a vote from being held at the April 20 meeting, and the Representative Council decided to form a subcommittee to propose an IASC policy regarding the role of groups like the Administrative Council.

They produced a policy statement similar in attitude to David Kelman's and renamed all such councils "Advisory Councils"; the policy put forth a strong Representative Council and Executive Director, and a weaker Advisory Council and Program Director. Jane and Jacob Rute again managed to stall a vote on this policy (which replaced the specific policy on Arts Co-op) at the May 25 Representative Council meeting.[28]

But on June 29, 1976, the Representative Council did take a vote, and passed the policy which confirmed their and Kelman's authority over advisory councils and program directors.

David Steinhoff told the Administrative Council that "this is a real loss as far as this group is concerned," but thanked the Council for all their support; Jacob Rute told David that "not only do you have our cooperation but also our genuine affection."

The Administrative Council was supportive, and several members, like Jacob Rute, Rob Harkness and Charles Cocteau did go out on a limb in support of Steinhoff and the planners' vision. But when it grew clear that their efforts were not being successful and that it was likely they would lose in a Representative Council vote because of the non-member towns voting on the issue, why did they not take stronger action?* Why did they not make a move to form an inter-district committee to run the program? Why did they settle for more informal agreements without legal backing? It was already clear that Kelman did not consider these binding, and in fact, his response was to take action that was legally binding, by getting the Representative Council to impose a policy about the authority and role of all such program governance groups. The superintendents did have the bottom line power

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28) At this meeting it was announced by Kelman that the Film Co-op, one of the only other non-special education projects of IASC, was divorcing from IASC. Kelman emphasized that the Film Co-op had a separate governing body and warned that this conduit situation was "very dangerous", since most of the participating towns were not members of IASC. A Representative Council member asked if this was the last one of the special relationships; when Kelman said yes, another Representative Councilmember said, "Then this will clean those out."

* Steinhoff's opinion in his comments was that the situation was 'more complex than this; the participating towns also supported IASC/Kelman."

- to pull Arts Co-op away from IASC - and such a show of strength by a group of superintendents in the IASC area could possibly have neutralized any bad reaction toward Arts Co-op by the state department, including the Commissioner, whose political interests lay with the regional agency. But this was a radical move, one that probably demanded more commitment and risk from most of the participating town superintendents than they were willing to make.*

In the following year, when the parents got active in the fight against IASC, they brought up the issue of the disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council. Kelman said that the Council had allowed itself to be disenfranchised, accusing them of not meeting regularly. In essence, Kelman's position was that if they gave up that power, then they didn't deserve to have it.

Gaining support and obtaining resources. We will not go into detail about the efforts to gain support and resources during this period. In brief, they were fairly effective. Steinhoff (with Kelman) reapplied for Title IV-c monies and was granted a renewal at the same rate as the first year, rather than a 25 percent cut as per the formula. He secured additional small grants and so did staff members. Efforts to grain substantial allocations from the participating towns for tuition monies helped to bring the budget total up to nearly $100,000 - just enough to run the program for two semesters.**

Title IV-c officials were very pleased with the school's progress. Their evaluation of the program was extremely positive, noting that there had been 226 applications for the 60 places, and that

> The project leadership manifests orderliness and sensitivity toward details of management. Mr. Steinhoff continually monitors project components - from budget to pupil attitudes. His creativity and flexibility have enabled the project to function well despite initial problems with financing and operational space.

Further, they felt that

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* Jane Sobel and David Steinhoff both concurred with this last statement after reading the case. Added Steinhoff:

> This was made very explicit the next winter by Rob Harkness in a talk with me. /Said Harkness/: "For five kids, I can't commit that much energy."

**Steinhoff added in his comments that it was important to note that

> Local dollars went from $5,200 to $52,000. The members of the Administrative Council pulled this off:evidence of the value of that structure.

> The project is accomplishing its major goals. Further, it is contributing to accomplishing a viable regional cooperative effort in eastern Winchester County.

So one major group of stakeholders was satisfied. So were most of the planning committee members. The superintendents of the participating towns got back good reports from most of their staff they sent to look at the program. Some of the Warren people had criticisms after their visit, and Albert Artesio, the musician, principal, and screening committee member from Winchester, was not very pleased with the music performance at the student show in June.

The Friends of Arts Co-op continued their efforts to gain support and raise money. And there was a good deal of newspaper coverage of the school in the area papers.

Conflict between David and the Staff

For the first two months that Arts Co-op was in operation, there was some dissatisfaction among the staff about a number of issues, but this tension took the form of grumbling or complaints by individuals to David. We have noted that during the Late Planning Period, faculty members did not share a unified perspective, and there was little time to work out all the differences prior to opening. During the Late Planning Period, there was as much if not more disagreement among the staff than between David and the staff.

But by early April, the entire staff was dissatisfied with the way interdisciplinary day was going, and was beginning to share its complaints with one another. There began to be a separation between David and the staff; they felt David did not listen to them or hear their suggestions.

On April 7, the regular Thursday afternoon staff meeting was held, but David had to be at the meeting of the Administrative Council and could not be present.[29] The resentment which had obviously been building began to surface with complaints about Interdisciplinary Day:

> J.R.: I don't think David has a real appreciation for what the kids feel with this Thursday thing.
>
> Carole: What about what we feel also?
>
> J.R.: We are like last on the list.

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29) It is important to note that this was the Administrative Council meeting where David made his 20-minute presentation and shared his concerns about IASC with the Council; this juxtaposition of pressures - from the staff and from IASC - is a salient aspect of David Steinhoff's situation during this first semester.

JR said, "I've been saying since January that this thing was not going to work and Carole chimed, "since November!" Susan remarked that she had told David that "this would be the bane of the whole program." But then the staff thought maybe they had not been firm enough or strong enough with David about their criticisms and complaints about interdisciplinary day, and decided to try again to convince him.

In considering how to tell David that changes were desired, J.R. reported to the staff the conversation he had recently had with David about the first redesign, which was to have made for a four week (four days) cycle. David had asked J.R. "Do you think you would be upset if I made it three days?" J.R. replied, "Why don't you just make it fifteen minutes and get it over with?" There seemed to be a lot of skepticism about whether their complaints and suggestions would be listened to. In fact, David and the staff did take action after this meeting, and the redesign helped somewhat, but the interdisciplinary activities did not come anywhere near David's expectations and hopes for it.

The interdisciplinary argument was the first concrete area of disagreement, but it pointed up the staff's feeling of powerlessness and frustration and the organizational and structural conditions which supported these feelings. These structural conditions were sub-categories of the centrality of the director, including the staff's position as consultants with no formal hiring or firing protection, and the lack of any other full time or regular staff members besides David and the secretary, the lack of area chairpersons who could be in touch with staff complaints and tensions and help surface them before they exploded. We will return later to a discussion of these conditions and their interaction with specific events which occurred during this first semester of operation.

By early June, there were a number of areas where the staff and David were on different tracks. David's style was one problem for both staff and students. By May and June, staff morale had begun to sag noticeably. At the June 9 meeting, David noticed "You all look kind of glum. Is anything going on?" The staff got into a discussion of some of their grievances.

- David had accused J.R. of "coddling" the creative writing students, and J.R. had replied that he nurtured them. Besides, complained J.R., David often walked in to J.R.'s class and then left again quickly in a way that was upsetting to the students, to whom David's opinion and judgement mattered a great deal.

- Carole felt David was too critical of the visual arts students, and brought up a couple of incidents in which whe felt David had expressed an opinion that was hasty and tactless. In one case, he had told a student that he didn't think the painting was that good, not up to her other work, and Carole said that this was a student she had just praised, a student whom she had had a lot of trouble

getting going, and while the painting was not that great by absolute standards it was a real improvement for the student.

- Susan described a situation where during a Thursday performance the students were giving, David was present but pacing back and forth, looking at his watch, and acting very distracted and distracting. The other students didn't want to perform after this. J.R. commented that one thing he had learned from this program was that the kids remember the negatives more easily than they remember the compliments.

David also tended to credit everyone but his own staff with the accomplishments of the program. At the final staff meeting of the year on June 16, David did compliment the staff on the tone of the school, but then went on to attribute most of it to the Eastern Players people and stated his intention to use them again next year.

David: I don't know what else created that initial openness...
Susan: It was the staff!
J.R.: It's rather insulting to the staff, David, to be so simplistic!
Iris: The creation of the atmosphere began way before the Eastern Players people, at the auditions and interviews.

Jan: The first interdisciplinary days were like what the Eastern Players people had done, and they were a disaster.

As we have seen, David tended to blame individuals and come down quite hard on people. He mentioned several times to the researcher that he felt that the staff members were not threatened by his criticisms, and that they had a good enough sense of their own professional worth and artistic accomplishment not to take his criticisms more strongly than they were meant. But David did not realize that his heavy criticalness had begun to weigh on the staff, and when a conflict over staff evaluation and rehiring erupted (see below), David's criticalness took on a different meaning - his complaints about the way the staff was carrying out the program were no longer mere "supportive" suggestions for improvement, but now would mean the difference between whether staff members would have a job at Arts Co-op in September.

So the most pressing area of tension between David and the staff concerned David's evaluation of them and whether they would be asked to return the following year. As late as the June 9 staff meeting, most, if not all of the staff would have gladly returned - they loved the students, felt they were just beginning to get somewhere in their art areas, and felt that a real community was being created.

At the June 9 Thursday staff meeting, Carole asked David when staff selection would be firmed up, and David told her by the end of the month. Carole was disturbed by this, since this was awfully late and would not give people enough time to look for jobs for the fall if they were not coming back. Carole said she felt as if she were under a lot of pressure.

David was not straight with the staff about how he was evaluating them. At the pre-operational staff meetings, David had told them he wanted to use a Visiting Committee, made up of friends of the program, to do an essentially friendly and positive evaluation. But he privately told the researcher during the first semester that he did not want to firm up any hiring for next year until he had collected the opinions of the visiting committee.* At the same time, he told the staff that their jobs were not dependent on the visiting committee's reports.

But the staff had begun to get suspicious about David's real motives with the Visiting Committee, and at the June 9 meeting, shared their concerns about visitors in general. Staff members felt that visitors were sometimes disruptive and worried that they got hasty impressions and made too-hasty judgements. Further, said the staff, it was impossible for a one-or-two-time visitor to measure the growth of students over time, which was the staff's agreed-upon means of student evaluation; each visitor came with a different set of standards and preconceptions of what these kids should be doing, and often judged them by adult standards, not high school standards.

Arts Co-op gave a show on June 14, 1977, and except for the dance program. David was disappointed in the performance, felt much of the material was trite, and blamed the staff for the lack of polishing and sophistication. This was the context for the staff meeting two days later, where a discussion of the Visiting Committee took place. Again David hid his real intentions from the staff.

> Jan: I didn't think it was a very good way to evaluate. Shirley Browne (the dance evaluator on the Visiting Committee) came in and sat for 15 minutes and then left. If you're going to evaluate it's necessary to have someone come in at the beginning, middle, and end.
>
> David: I know. But I tried to bring in data from other sources and other people; anyway, it won't be the only thing, and I won't say as a result of it - get rid of Jan.
>
> JR: It was a political thing anyway, wasn't it?
>
> David: No. In a lot of ways, but no, not really.

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* Steinhoff added in his comments that

> I also told the staff that I would not finalize hiring until I had the opinions of the Visiting Committee. I told them it was one of several considerations. I feel the problem was that I simply did not emphasize either/or decisions were a factor strongly until the very end. I wanted to avoid the consequences of what that question would have meant to staff. Obviously, it was a mistake. They didn't know one way or the other.

J.R. then resisted its validity as a true evaluation, agreeing with Jan and commenting that he "smelled politics". And when David said that "you can get some idea of what's going on from the kids' performance", the staff got more upset, and Susan spoke of how the students were not as talented as they had expected. David tried to relieve some of the faculty's fears by saying that what he was getting was not so much criticism as suggestions, and emphasized, "These people are not threatening your jobs in any way."

One day later, on June 17, David asked Carole not to return. He did not tell her the real reasons, but he told other people. The Visiting Committee had said that the work of her students was ordinary and that the kids seemed not to be growing.* Not surprisingly, this was the straw that broke the camel's back for the staff, and Carole's dismissal was the catalyst for the explosion of all the tensions which had been fomenting beneath and at the surface for the whole semester.

David's decision to let Carole go was based solely on his estimation of her art teaching and her too-traditional approach.** Despite Carole's excellent reputation as a teacher and her standing as a fine painter, David had always had doubts about her "fit" with him and the school, as had been clear in his initial hesitation about hiring her. But what David did not take into account was Carole's contribution to the creation of community and supportive atmosphere at Arts Co-op.*** Within her classes, there was a feeling of camaraderie and a great deal of warmth. The close relationship between Carole and her students was heightened by the fact that she had an artist-in-residence grant which allowed her to be at Arts Co-op for a longer period of time than other staff. Carole was also a binding force among the staff. David had not anticipated the amount of support and loyalty she commanded from the staff and students alike.

Carole was hurt and angry, feeling that she had been judged by a

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* David said in his comments that this was not true. His view of the situation with Carole, the Visiting Committee, and rehiring staff is included in the text of page 169.

** The too-traditional approach was, according to David in his comments,

> not the major problem. Rather, she used a traditional approach...but used it badly. She did not challenge her kids.

*** On the contrary, felt David, when he read the case

> I feel that I did understand this. I knew the decision would be earth-shaking. That's why I waited until after the program was over to tell her.

"sneaky observation", and had never been given the chance to display her students' work properly. She felt that David had had something against her from the beginning and had viewed her as too middle class - the rich lady from Harbor View. She felt her professional reputation had been very badly tarnished without justification, and this was compounded by David's telling lots of other people why he had let her go but refusing to tell her.[30] She complained to friends and colleagues in the area about David, and wrote a letter to Kelman. Still she felt supportive of the program, and was glad that her son, a musician, would be entering the program next year. She did not feel that David was an "ogre" - just that he "needed to grow up."

When David Steinhoff reviewed the first draft of this case study, he wrote a typewritten statement about the situation with Carole and the role of the Visiting Committee. We include his comments here in the text rather than in a footnote:

> The incident with Carole was awful, largely because I managed it badly, both humanly and administratively. I had not made it clear to staff that either/or decisions were in prospect. The period of the program was so short that, in the beginning, it had not seemed to me likely that people would be let go of. From my perspective, the Visiting Committee was to make suggestions--to be a positive experience for us all. My reservations about Iris and Carole preceded the visits of the formal committee. The limits of Carole's work with the kids had first been brought to my attention by a guest teacher in April and then by several other persons whom I respected. I then asked persons whom I also respected to review and comment on the work while, at the same time, talking a lot myself to her kids. The problem was that they were not challenged or stretched. J.R. and Milton Ziegler used traditional approaches also, but the kids seemed more stimulated. I felt there was more growth.
>
> Members of the Visiting Committee were positive or non-committal about Carole's classes and the work of the kids. I waited until the end of the year to tell her because I felt that by telling her, I would create a bad feeling among both staff and kids, and the school, with all its difficulties, could ill afford that kind of internal crisis. What I had not anticipated was that several staff would see this as part of a general pattern of careless treatment, lack of honesty, etc.--amounting to injustice.

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30) David realized that it was unfair to be so indirect about this with Carole, but he had promised the visitors who had judged Carole's work that he would not divulge their opinions, since they were colleagues and friends of hers.

David was also ambivalent about the continuation of other staff members, and had complaints about all except Susan, J.R., and Jan. David hoped that Susan would stay on as a main staff person in drama, but was having trouble reaching her by phone. It soon became clear that Susan was avoiding David, and along with other staff members, was furious about David's treatment of Carole, among other things. When David realized the serious effect of his actions with Carole and the tensions which had built up during the year, he met with J.R. and Susan and heard their complaints. In an interview with David during the summer, he candidly told the researcher the reasons J.R. and Susan had given him for their dissatisfaction.

1. He had contradicted himself on evaluation, and in fact, had double-crossed the staff about it.

2. He didn't listen, was too negative with both staff and students and was often rude to the students.

3. He treated different art areas differently, and was especially hard on the ones closest to his skills (drama and writing), while allowing the music department free rein. Said J.R. and Susan: "There may have been good reasons for that, but they should have been pointed out."

4. The staff lacked a sense of security at the end of the year, knowing David could take whatever action he felt like. Susan felt David had been especially tough on women, and criticized him for withdrawing support from Iris.

5. He switched to a performance orientation at the end without making this clear.

6. He was inaccessible, especially at the end. Staff had no idea how David really felt.

7. He didn't level with the staff, and that was clear to them.

8. Staff felt like they were not a real part of the school. David suggested that they should consider having a staff member sit on the Administrative Council.

Boris Mara, the sculpture teacher and Carole's partner in visual arts, resigned in support and wrote to Kelman with his complaints about David Steinhoff and the program. Steinhoff considered this a malicious and vicious move, especially since he felt that some of Boris' charges were not accurate or honest.[31]

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31) For example, the letter charged that there had been little provision or attention to the transition between Rob Wolfe's leaving and Boris' taking over. In fact, this transition was accomplished with care and thought; Carole had commented to the researcher in March that the changeover was going very smoothly.

Janie Rossiter, the secretary, also resigned. When the researcher asked her why she was leaving, Janie said that life with David was just

> too hysterical...tons of work. The basement. A wave of swiftness would engulf me and I would finally ask David what was really top priority.
>
> David worked very hard, but magnified it by being worried about things which might not cause problems. If there had been a little more sense of humor, it would have been easier to function much better - if there had been room for both seriousness and gaiety. I know, though, that being in the lowliest position here I cannot change anything.

Susan Torra also resigned and refused David's offer of a more substantial position. In August, Iris Blumen resigned. So did Alice Theroux in creative writing.

Two other staff members who were not affected by or especially upset by the evaluation and Carole's dismissal left to take other, more prestigious appointments at music and art schools. Thus, the turnover of staff following the first semester was extremely high: out of 15 staff members, nine would not be returning the following year.*

David was extremely upset by these conflicts with the staff, much more so than he had been by the struggles with IASC. He had to admit that many of the staff's complaints were justified:

> It's troubling. And I feel that above all I was just really tired at the end and I wasn't really very thoughtful and I think above all I wasn't really controlling of some of my own callousness. And as J.R.

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* Upon reading this section, David disagreed "with the implication that most of the staff left over the conflict..." He then listed the reasons he saw for why people had left:

> Barry Greene -- for better job.
> John Berlin -- for better job.
> Alice Theroux -- had a terrible year teaching and I suggested she leave--though she probably wanted to anyway.
> Carole Barzini -- I asked to leave.
> Susan Torra -- had quit in April and then asked to return for an occasional class. She had left to pursue a career in the theatre after her husband got a better job.
> Iris Blumen -- I had asked her to reduce her time. She quit because of the conflict.
> Janie Rossiter -- had made it clear before she began that she would leave before end of year.
> Boris Mara -- as a result of the conflict.
> Marianne Gray -- dropped by us.

Furthermore, asserted Steinhoff, "we kept all major people (Ziegler, J.R., Calder) except Blumen."

said, and I think it's true, it was more a matter of style than intent. I really do believe that's the case.

He recognized that indeed, he had had a tendency to "pare the truth" about hiring and firing and told the researcher that it was obvious that there was a need to formalize the hiring and evaluation process. Because he had spent so much energy fighting with IASC he had not realized the extent to which he had cut himself off. He was sincerely remorseful, and would spend the summer mending rifts, listening to complaints and suggestions, and devising solutions and structures to avoid some of what had happened this year.

Summary and analysis. During the first semester of operation, a conflict between the director and his staff erupted, and partly as a result of the conflict, a substantial portion of the staff resigned. There were four major areas of tension, including

- the interdisciplinary approach and its implementation
- the process for evaluating and rehiring staff members and the (dismissal, non-rehiring) of one major staff member
- the director's interpersonal style
- the implicit goal succession to a performance orientation

In our view, the basic structural conditions of Arts Co-op - centrality, segmentation, and vulnerability to the outside, supported and in some cases were causal to the conflict.

1. Centrality of the director. There were three aspects to Arts Co-op's structure which emphasized David's centrality, all related to the staffing pattern. They included:

- the lack of an artist-assistant to the director
- the lack of area chairpersons
- the position of the staff as consultants with no regular staff position, formal rights, or hiring/firing protection

These conditions allowed the director (as opposed to the director and his staff) to take fairly complete control over major decisions and thrusts within the school, and contributed to his style of unilateral decision-making. The staff was not sheeplike, but David often chose not to listen to them or to listen to outside experts over his own staff. This was most evident in the arguments around the interdisciplinary approach where David would not back down from his approach despite almost total disagreement from his staff on both the underlying premises

and the particular mode of implementing the approach.* Thus David ended up being solely responsible for the achievement of the interdisciplinary approach goal, while other staff members shed their ownership of the activities as a means of self-protection against almost inevitable failure.

The staff's role definition as consultants without any formal rights meant that when the evaluation/Visiting Committee issue came up, the staff had no protection against whatever and however David decided about their future at Arts Co-op. His stalling about his decisions for the following year exacerbated the insecurity of this condition for the staff. Then, David's unilateral decision making about staff evaluation and his lack of honesty about the process he was using made for a situation of distrust and suspicion. The staff's worst fears were confirmed by his discontinuation of Carole, and the way he handled it.

David's centrality also supported his stylistic tendency to blame individuals. This kept the discussion on the personal level, rather than the level of the social system, increased the amount of risk for the individual, and tended to cut down on support from the director and from other colleagues.

So the isolation of the leader of Arts Co-op increased as the semester wore on. Under severe stress from the struggles with IASC about the governance of Arts Co-op and lacking any real colleagues within the school, David grew more separated from the rest of the staff, out of touch with his staff. He made administrative decisions, such as about evaluation, which went against the interests and opinions of the specialist staff.**

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* "But I did," argued David when he read this. "After the April 7th meeting /we/ changed it completely." To a certain extent, this was true, but the staff felt only that it was better than it had been, but were still not in any kind of positive agreement with one another or, especially, with David, on what the interdisciplinary aspect of the program could and should have been. Said David,

> The Interdisciplinary concept could not be let go of. I feel, /however/ that I should have led some of the early Thursdays and tried to make them work.

**David added in his comments that

> I don't think the decision-making could have been shared at this point in the program's history with the staff. I could have been clearer about procedures to them and buffered my role and centrality with more and clearer outside involvement (Administrative Council and Visiting Committee). Still, the staff did not "own" the program and should not have. My job, as I saw it, was to maintain the ownership of planners (Administrative Council) and the interests of the kids until a mature staff committed to the concept would develop. I should have worked harder to get their understanding and commitment to the concept.

2. Segmentation. The segmented nature of the system had several effects in relation to the conflict we are describing. It made for an increase in problems of planning (especially for any interdisciplinary work) and coordination; it was not unusual for the dance staff member to come prepared for interdisciplinary activities on Thursday and to find that the music staff had not brought their instruments or equipment. The activities would be less than successful, the dance person would end up angry, and David would apologize.

The segmentation also made it difficult for staff to support one another. The budget could not support many formal gatherings of the entire staff and David tried to keep the Monday and Thursday staff meetings under an hour, so there was little time for informal connections. The budget also could not support staff members coming in except during the hours Arts Co-op was in session, and this cut down on the development of an informal network of friendships, and on joint planning time. There was still a great deal of warmth and camaraderie, but the fact was that people did not see one another often, regularly, or for extended periods of time. The staff members were still individuals fighting individual battles, lacking in any unified group strength or influence.

Finally, the segmentation allowed the art areas to be treated differently. The faculty did not have inherent objections to this lack of uniformity, but did object to according particular areas' exemption from certain demands without justification (e.g. the music department's scheduling of its staff so no one was there on Thursday Interdisciplinary Day). Combined with the ambiguity and lack of honesty about evaluation and rehiring, what was seen as preferential treatment of some areas over others raised the level of resentment against David.

3. Vulnerability to the outside. Arts Co-op was under a great deal of pressure from its environment. It should be noted that while the staff was aware of the pressures from the sending schools and the artistic community, they were not very aware of the struggles with IASC. While all the hullaballoo was going on in the Administrative Council and the Representative Council about the relationship of IASC to Arts Co-op and the role of the Administrative Council, the staff had little or no idea either of the details or the overarching concerns of that fight, except where it directly affected them (e.g. lesson plans, bus supervision). As J.R. commented a year later, he had had no idea just how threatened Steinhoff and Arts Co-op had been by IASC.

But David was continually acting under this dual pressure. The struggles with IASC and the incredible memo writing left him angry, preoccupied, and unable to really support his staff. It made him nervous for staff members to take risks, because there was always the fear that Kelman or Browning would walk in.

The general vulnerability to the outside and the need to look good led to the implicit goal succession away from student self-growth toward a much heavier performance orientation. The heavy influx of visitors plus the use of a "visiting committee" coming into the art area classes put pressure on the staff to display the best work, whereas the usual inclination, based on their understanding of the original goal, was to put up work for students to critique, advise, and learn from. The greatest pressure was on the visual arts area, since its products were the most visible and were expected to be on display in the classroom. David was disappointed in the show put on in June, and felt embarrassed and "pissed off" at the lack of preparation and rigorousness in the staff's approach to the performance. And when David said that one could form some judgements on the basis of the students' work and performance, the staff got very tense, because the students had turned out to be less talented, sophisticated, and disciplined than they had expected them to be, and this was now reflecting badly on the staff. And the staff realized in April that the first semester was not a time for high-flung esthetic forays, but rather a time for teaching the basics of the various art area skills and a general appreciation of art.

Had the school not opened midway through the year, but rather in September, a student performance would probably not have been held until well into the second semester, giving everyone more time to prepare, get the school organized, and clarify its purpose and thrusts.

Generally, this midyear opening, an important planning decision, probably did more than anything else to allow the conflict to develop in this way at this time. In our other research sites, we noticed a drop in morale around November and December, prior to Christmas vacation, followed by rest and recovery; overall evaluation of the school and comprehensive reviews by the outside did not take place until the end of two semesters of operation. At Arts Co-op, this drop in morale occurred after the same number of months of operation, but coincided with the end of the school year rather than a two week break. So

there was no chance to recoup and regroup; rather, staff were evaluated and had to make decisions about whether to return in September or not. Many decided not to take the chance, given the current state of affairs, whereas there might have been increased stability and much less turnover had the conflict occurred over the December break. And of course, the conflict looked much worse to the outside as a result of the resignations and letters written to Kelman by Carole and Boris.

In sum, David held the balance of power in a situation where his staff lacked any kind of formal power and where the structure of the school supported this centralized concentration of decision making. Still, David was not a power-hungry administrator, but rather a concerned director who felt responsible for the achievement of the planning goals and the establishment of a high quality arts program, and the staff viewed him generally as having integrity and able to be trusted.[32] With the pressure from outside, the lack of shared power, and the increasing isolation of the leader from the rest of the staff, David, the embattled artist specialist director in relation to IASC, was perceived more and more as the generalist administrator by his staff of artist specialists.

The State of the System by Year-End

What did Arts Co-op look like after five months of implementation? This section examines data collected from students and faculty, assesses the degree to which the planners' goals were achieved, and reviews the sort of social system that seemed to have emerged.

Student reactions: what it's like to go to Arts Co-op. In a questionnaire administered by our research project in June of 1977, students filled out short-answer and open-ended responses to a series of questions designed to get an overview of their reactions to their classes, their auditions, their transportation situation, their likes and dislikes, the tensions resulting from being part of two schools, the differences between Arts Co-op and their regular high schools, and what they would tell a friend or interested peer about Arts Co-op. Most of their complaints about the program centered on interdisciplinary days and the poor facilities. But students overwhelmingly loved their classes and their teachers:

> I liked working with more than one teacher, liked having real artists around. I appreciated the individual attention - help with specific problems in my art area, field trips, working with other kids.
>
> Everyone is enthusiastic and helpful. We're all friends and classes run smoothly and comfortably.

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32) Questionnaire data supported this in spite of his inauthenticity about the decision to fire Carole.

I have learned much more about my art than I knew before I came to Arts Co-op. The teachers are very good.

The teachers are very knowledgeable and helpful. We do very creative things in class.

They seem to be honestly interested in us and us in them. We have established a rapport with them.

I like my teachers because they've taught me many new things. My classes are fantastic because they're always exciting and never boring. The teachers have also helped me think creatively.

It is something I want to do. It's not an obligation, and there is no pressure placed on you. It's not a hassle like school often is. There is a much better teacher/student relationship - we are friends and they are not our authorities.

The teachers give good criticism. They treat us like people, not kids. Arts Co-op teachers look like they enjoy teaching us.

They make us a part of what we are to learn. We learn what will benefit us in a professional and personal way.

The teachers at Arts Co-op are more relaxed. They approach the learning experience as something valuable and enjoyable.

My teachers at Arts Co-op teach very differently from my regular teachers because they don't teach out of books or in a standard way. We do something different and exciting every day.

I think that because of the small student-teacher ratio, they have more of a chance to give much more individualized attention to the students, to get ideas across, and really teach!

It's not what [they teach] but how. The subject matter is almost irrelevant when working with such individuals. If you gave them an algebra class to run they'd get much better results than most teachers now. The most important thing is that they care and listen and treat you as a human being, not another problem to be solved or number to be processed. I've learned more about myself through these people. And am so much the better for knowing them.

> The best thing that I like about the teaching is that you learn about yourself, ways in which you think and act which enables you to be free with your work.

One theme that emerged was that students felt they were listened to, respected and had some degree of power, which had a positive effect on their learning capacities:

> The teachers treat us with respect. They don't make us feel small because we are younger than them. They are more willing to admit to mistakes and are more versatile in their ways of teaching. If a student doesn't understand something one way, the teacher takes the time to find another. High school teachers don't. Arts Co-op teachers are there because they want to share something they've learned with us, not teach it to us.

> The whole idea of creating and not just regulating facts makes me feel good. The people really seem to care. We have much more to say about what we do, thus we learn more and are motivated.

> The teachers are more thoughtful in teaching us - more personal. That helped. They understand us more than at my regular high school and they aren't afraid of us as individuals. We also talk over grades and assignments, which helps.

> I really love the way we, the students, can make suggestions and really have them considered and sometimes used. They don't get spastic here if you're in a bad mood and hard to put up with. You can say what you really feel.

The vast majority of student responses were rave reviews of the program. But even when we pointedly asked students what they disliked, many replied simply, "nothing". When asked, "what did you like least about Arts Co-op?" there were some complaints:

> Some days we had absolutely nothing to do - no one was prepared - classroom was dreary - we sometimes did things much like regular school - reading from mimeographed sheets and books we found irrelevant.

> Not having different kinds of materials.

> When unidentified men in suits come in a class, observe the class for a few minutes and leave without saying anything.

Being slowed down by lower levels. Absences. Pressured to put on a finished product for parents when I feel we're not ready. Production should be less formal.

At times I felt a bit rushed.

Sometimes things go slowly.

The fact that we don't have better facilities to perform in.

The building, our particular classroom (the hole).

The short hours.

Problems with funding - for trips and supplies

The students had some unprompted kudos for the planning and implementation effort:

It's a good program because it's the first time someone cared enough to cater to the needs of young artists.

Best thing anyone ever thought up.

It is a dream come true for me. I always wanted to study very seriously during high school, but I never could until this started.

I hope for other students that this program never ends.

I feel that the planning and executing of the program was done extremely well. Looking so good in 1977, it can only get better. Excited about next year.

How did students feel about themselves at the end of one semester at Arts Co-op?

I understand now that it was art that was missing from life at the beginning of the year. Without art I'd be miserable. Arts Co-op has given me happiness with people in the arts, understanding of myself and others, and much more.

Look at me! Have you ever seen me so happy - so alive? You're able to talk to kids who do something with commitment - you're working with people who care, who give their all.

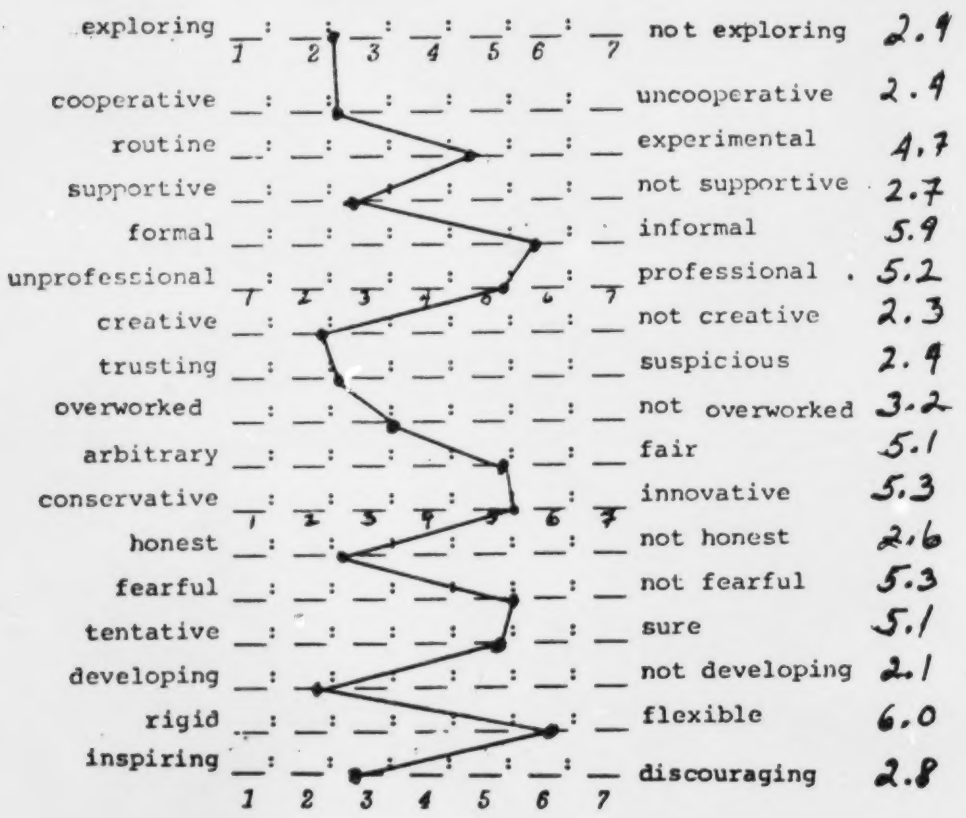
Students also emphasized in their questionnaires that Arts Co-op was a place for students who were serious about their art, that it required a strong commitment and a number of personal sacrifices to participate. Those who did not like the program or who were planning not to return,with the exception of one or two, generally said it was because they had other commitments or that the program was just not for them, rather than saying that the program was at fault.

Staff reactions: what it's like to teach at Arts Co-op. Not surprisingly, given their working conditions, low pay, and lack of job security, the staff was somewhat more ambivalent and divided than the students on their feelings about their time at Arts Co-op. But they were crystal clear on what they liked best about the program: working with these talented students. Said Ron Kirk in his report:

> The single most 'alike' response was the answer to my question, 'What makes you feel good about working at Arts Co-op?' Virtually everyone responded, 'The kids!'

Faculty saw the students as "a wonderful mix of kids"; "mostly fresh, open and energetic"; "needful of confidence, bright, talented, hungry for time and attention, serious".

Our questionnaire asked about the climate of the school, how it feels "when you work with other people in this school." The means of the responses are charted below:


exploring 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 not exploring 2.9
cooperative uncooperative 2.9
routine experimental 4.7
supportive not supportive 2.7
formal informal 5.9
unprofessional professional 5.2
creative not creative 2.3
trusting suspicious 2.9
overworked not overworked 3.2
arbitrary fair 5.1
conservative innovative 5.3
honest not honest 2.6
fearful not fearful 5.3
tentative sure 5.1
developing not developing 2.1
rigid flexible 6.0
inspiring discouraging 2.8
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

In other words, the school atmosphere was seen as quite

> exploring, cooperative, creative, trusting, developing, informal, and flexible.

And it was fairly

> professional, supportive, fair, innovative, honest, not fearful, sure, and inspiring.

But there was an overworked feeling, and though climate was more experimental than routine, it was more in the middle of the continuum than at the end.

Normatively speaking, nine or more staff members out of 13 staff members agreed that it was appropriate to

> "admit frankly that he/she had problems in teaching"
>
> "ask others for personal support"
>
> "disagree with the director when he/she knew more about the issue than he does"
>
> "ask other teachers for help with a teaching problem"

Most of the staff derived at least some satisfaction from teaching at Arts Co-op, but there was some variation in how much satisfaction each got. Everyone had learned something, and seven said that they had learned either "a lot" or the "maximum amount".

Staff repeated that their feelings about the school had changed as the semester wore on. Interestingly, while morale dropped and tensions built from February to June, the staff felt that the school was doing an increasingly good job. Our questionnaire results bear this out:

> "What kind of job did you think the school did in the first month or so that it was open?" Only six out of 12 thought it was doing a "good", "very good" or "outstanding" job.
>
> "What kind of job did you think the school was doing by April vacation?" Nine out of 13 thought it was doing a "good" or "very good" job.
>
> "Finally, what kind of job do you think the school is doing right now?" (June) Eleven out of 13 thought it was doing a "good", "very good", or "outstanding" job, and only one thought it was doing a "fair" job and only one a "rather poor" job. No one thought it was doing an "extremely poor" job at any time during the semester.

In April, despite some disagreements and the seeds of tension between the staff and David, the feeling among the staff was still very positive toward their director. But for a variety of reasons, as we have seen, these feelings changed near the end of the semester.

So, in general, students were almost unreservedly positive about the school; the staff, in spite of morale problems, found Arts Co-op a productive experience. So these two primary types of stakeholders were satisfied. What can be said about the degree to which the emerging school was in fact an actualization of the goals its planners had held for it?

Goal achievement. As we have seen, the linkage between planning and implementation was strong. David believed in the goals the planners had stressed, and had elaborated on some of them, such as his emphasis on getting students to help one another. He also was well acquainted with the planning history, was closest to Jane Sobel, and felt responsible for the promises and goals outlined in the Title IV-c proposal. As he told the gathering of the full staff on April 25, 1977,

> The planning committee developed certain goals. These are things we are responsible for.

David had stressed many of these goals and aspects of the vision in his speech on the first day of school. The organizational design had taken these elements into account. Eight major elements of the vision were given emphasis, and help to make sense out of the actions and events which took place during the first semester of Arts Co-op. These included:

1. Developing a community of artists
2. Having students get a sense of what it is like to be a practicing artist
3. Integrating around a common interest in the arts
4. Getting students to help one another
5. Demonstrating the interrelatedness of the arts (the interdisciplinary approach)
6. Identifying developed and undeveloped talent
7. Self-growth and the development of creativity versus product orientation
8. Bringing something back to the communities

A certain amount of goal succession took place around goal #7, and in the process, a new goal emerged which had been assumed but not made explicit before: to produce high quality art.

Now let us look at each of these in turn and at the specific actions which contributed to or detracted from achieving these goals.

1. Developing a community of artists. An egalitarian atmosphere characterized the program. Adults treated students without condescension and with respect. There was a flexible, supportive atmosphere

which nurtured creativity. Students soon lost their shyness and became uninhibited, unworried about looking silly. One Black student from Waterton, a year later, reflected on how she had realized that she could be herself at Arts Co-op:

> I didn't know if I could be myself or not - you know how schools usually are - you have to hide yourself. Remember that first day with the Eastern Players people? At first, I wasn't going to do any of those weird games. But then I saw everyone else doing them and I thought, ok. I began to realize that I could be the person I am and people wouldn't think I was nuts.

David commented at the all-staff meeting in April that "in most high schools, the atmosphere is terrible and there is a sense of purposelessness that should never happen here." Student comments in the questionnaires administered by our project revealed that the level of mutual respect, appreciation, and caring was high:

> Teachers are friendly, and concerned with what we are doing. There is none of the b.s. that goes on in "formal classrooms." The atmosphere is relaxed. Everyone respects everyone else.
>
> Relaxed, creative atmosphere. Student sharing.
>
> We are all doing what we enjoy doing the most; therefore everyone has a good attitude and everyone helps with their own ideas. All the teachers accept and experiment with out ideas.
>
> Our drama people are a clan. We work together - laugh together. Even the teachers are clan members!
>
> At Arts Co-op there are interesting people who care about art and you as a student. The teachers and students are eager to help you develop. At my regular high school, you get the feeling no one really cares about you.
>
> There is an entirely better attitude among the students (than in my regular high school). Everyone respects each other's opinions and ideas. I'm doing what I want to do.
>
> People are interested in what they are doing. They are growing and learning about art, themselves, and others. There is a feeling of closeness, creative energy, community. Everyone works together for each other.

> Looser atmosphere - more personal contact - everyone is involved in an art - always something flaky going on, but it's fun!
>
> To me, it's more important than my regular high school - in that school I'm crazy. A square hole and round peg sort of thing. Here I'm accepted by people not for whom I am, but as I am. Does that make sense? It's far from a high school - it's a community.

2. Having students get a sense of what it is like to be a practicing artist. Students did get a good sense of what it was like to be an artist and very much enjoyed and learned from this sharing. Said one student:

> It's a chance to really work and learn with professionals on a one-to-one level as student/ teacher or as friends. Everyone here is concerned with our creativity and our own potential and growth.

Said another,

> Because the Arts Co-op teachers are first and foremost ARTISTS, they are more sensitive to our ideas as well as our needs. They are specialists and they can help us to know ourselves and our art.

Staff members opened up their lives to their students, and students often asked their teachers about how their careers had developed or what was involved in working up a performance or producing a piece of work. Beth Baum related at a staff meeting that she had been asked by her students how much preparation was needed to write a musical composition, and she told them roughly 25 minutes for every one minute of music.

> They said, "Oh my God. How do you do it?" I said, I take the phone off the hook for three hours.

J.R. in creative writing and Carole in visual arts were both awarded Artist in Residence grants by the Arts Commission during this semester. In her report to the Commission, Carole related how she had produced four pieces in full view of her students:

> Sam Garcia,[33] my senior assistant, and an incredibly perceptive young man, made a significant comment about my residency: 'Because you worked here,

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33) Most of the students were 10th and 11th graders, a decision which had been made by the planners to ensure continuity the second and third years. Sam was one of two 12th graders who had dual roles as artists and assistants.

I understood you better; your criticism meant more...'

> Many of the students came to me with very definite prejudices about what is art and what is not. Exposure to my work and work habits changed this. They witnessed a discipline and attitude that was new to them, and I won a whole coterie of fans! When I did critiques of my own work, I was not soft on myself. The students also told me they were impressed with my concrete explanation of my work. It told them I was real and knew what I was doing. It helped them to come to understand a large area of art that had been a mystery to them. They began to perceive art in many new and different ways.

Notices of staff performances and exhibits were posted on the Arts Co-op bulletin board along with press releases and clippings about the school and the staff. On April 6, a "meet the staff" night was held, mostly so that the parents could meet the faculty; staff members gave short performances (J.R. read a series of poems, Carole's paintings were displayed, and so forth), so students and parents could get a sense of the teachers as artists.

3. Integrating around a common interest in the arts. When Arts Co-op opened, 18 out of its 62 students were minority. The assumption that there would be meaningful interaction if people were working together on something they were both interested in appeared to be a well-founded one. As David told the staff at that April meeting,

> One of the major things that the planning committee was interested in was the isolation of urban and suburban kids - the pattern of wealthy Whites from the city moving out into the suburbs. Jane Sobel was especially interested in this and felt that they were impoverished on both sides. In addition to that, this is an extremely rich area in terms of ethnicity. One of the things that has meant a lot in our program is getting kids to look at their own backgrounds. In the growth sense, we've been successful. Parents who have moved out of the city are now beating down our door to get back in here. J.R. and Alice, and the theater people have done a lot with this already. I've applied for a special grant from the Arts Commission to hire people who have various ethnic specialities, like painting Ukrainian Easter eggs. Then there's the Hispanic population. Waterton has a large Hispanic population. We have no Hispanic staff members.

There was a good deal of contact between members of different ethnic groups within art areas, and there was a certain amount of

relaxed joking (Robert, Black, asks Martha Mahoney, White, if her frizzy Afro-type hairstyle is naturally that curly. Randall, White, comes back with a repost to Robert: "Is yours?") Within art areas, there was little friction or ethnic distinction, except when it was focused on as a conscious exercise. But in the large group, Black/White tensions emerged more often.

On the first interdisciplinary day, Iris asked the students to lie down on the floor. Some students, mostly Black, refused. David went out and got a large rug and the Black students agreed to do the exercise. But David felt that the lines had been drawn, and there was a moment of potential crisis when it looked as if the Black students were going to demarcate themselves from the others.

After this exercise, the students were asked to count off to form groups, but as it turned out, the groups ranged in size from six to 15, and some groups had no Blacks in them, indicating that students had ignored the numbered groupings, and self-selected. The Black students stuck together. In reflecting on the incident at the staff meeting, Carole commented that there was no ethnic tension within classes, where on a personal level, they got along. Jan said that "at the classroom level I'm amazed at how integrated it really is" and pointed out that the friction seemed to develop when Black and White students were together in a general, large setting where the minority students grouped themselves together. We can hypothesize that in the larger, more anonymous setting, the majority White/minority Black/Hispanic separation was more obvious; from David's experience, he had learned it was necessary to have a sufficient number of minority students in order that they not feel like tokens, powerless and without representation. In the large group setting, there seemed to be more of a need to delineate ethnic boundaries. Then the staff wondered if they should preplan the groupings next time, but questioned, in essence, how much managing and manipulating of social relationships of kids in a learning environment it was legitimate or desirable to do. And while the staff discussed the incident and the relationships, there was little follow-up with the

students after the interdisciplinary day incident. *

But there was still a great deal of "cross-racial" admiration going on. Staff members shared with one another examples of Black, Hispanic, and White students helping each other. And as David said,

> In quiet ways the continued emphasis of the kids' strengths has really made a difference. I made a choice at the beginning of the program whether to confront this directly or not and decided to avoid it. The planners' idea was that the kids would get together and be bound by a common interest - art. These kids have been really accepting of each other.

So David's emphasis on getting students to help one another was one way of dealing with the integration goal.

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*But David countered when he read this, "There were other, more indirect ways being utilized consciously to deal with the problem." David named several, including the involvement of one black student's father in the school and parents organization, "reaching out," and "calling home." It is true that David and the staff did a great deal to try to 'get to' their students, following up on personal problems, school problems, and job problems that were troubling the kids. David chose a less direct approach. Some of the staff, however, felt the need for more direct follow-up to the racially-related tensions.

The "levels" problem, with some students far more advanced in basic art skills than others, put a strain on some departments, and the staff and director worried about the more advanced students growing bored. But the real worry was that the less trained students, particularly in creative writing, began to drop out, and it was more often than not minority students than the White suburban students who had less training. So the levels problem was related to the problems inherent in the integration goal.

It gradually became clear that the program had a hard time keeping minority students, for a variety of reasons. One was the levels problem but another had to do with many of the students needing after school jobs. (The following year, David tried to apply for some of the Department of Labor CETA funds, but discovered they were tied up in Waterton politics and he was unable to get any of the money.) David worried about this situation, but consoled himself with the knowledge that NCA in Northtown had experienced similar problems with respect to turnover in their minority populations, especially in the first years.

4. Getting students to help one another. Although other goals were ostensibly more important in the larger scheme of things (i.e. integration, identifying talent), David emphasized this one most heavily. Students did learn to rely on one another, and used each other more and more as they got to know each other and what they had to offer. Connections among students were strong, and David further encouraged this by starting a student council, telling the students that this sort of group was needed because the staff was very dispersed, didn't always see each other, and came in on different days. The students were the only ones besides David and the secretary who came in every day, and David stressed that there had to be a lot of student responsibility to maintain the kind of continuity and connection that would make Arts Co-op special. Students were encouraged to initiate and develop products independently of adults, and ask for help from students as well as staff when they needed it.

Our questionnaire asked students if "other students have ever given you help and suggestions in your art area." Of 40 responses, 26 (65%) said "yes, often or very often", and 11 (28%) said "sometimes". Only two students said "hardly ever", and one said "never".

We observed numerous examples of students sharing and helping one another:

> In Beth Baum's music class one day, she had written some music on the board for students to copy while she left the room. Angelo, a guitar player with no formal musical training, was at a loss about how to copy it down, and Carla, a classically trained horn and bass player, helped him. Carla then asked everyone to tune their instruments, and Peter, a White trained pianist, began leading the music while everyone started improvising.

The teachers encouraged this interaction in creative ways. The field-worker noted:

> In the dance class, Jan's students were having a hard time doing a walk in two counts with a stop. They had been working individually in front of the mirror trying to get it. Jan got them together in a cluster and said, "Now do it and feel each other's rhythm, be dependent on each other to get across the floor," and lo and behold, they did it much better.

Students liked this attitude. Students in Iris' class were discussing the idea of students learning from each other, and they said that one of the complaints they had in their regular high schools was the student/teacher respect syndrome, whereas at Arts Co-op they could learn from each other - they said they sit in a circle and talk and the teacher is right there with them.

There was very little idle space or time at Arts Co-op, and partly as a result of students learning to use each other, even the informal congregating of students usually had some productive interaction - impromptu singing, getting advice or encouragement about performing and publishing, sharing ideas.

5. Demonstrating the interrelatedness of the arts. We have already described some of the dissatisfaction around the interdisciplinary approach and its particular application to the one-day-a-week activity. By April, tempers had cooled somewhat, with the institution of the four and six week cycles of small group activity, and at the all-staff meeting on April 25, David and the staff reviewed this goal. David told the staff that he "would have liked to have seen more cooperative work among you. I don't mean to hang onto a word like interdisciplinary", and this produced a chorus of "We have to be allowed time in order to do that"; the staff's view, in essence, was that the interdisciplinary work would have to develop organically and with some structural support and more time to be effective.

The faculty also realized that the early months of the program, to their surprise, had been a period of working on basics, and that it had taken a long time for the program to get under way. Even more important, thought Jan, was that "I don't think we were clear enough about our goals. And I think they were very high goals." David agreed, and added that within their limited planning time, they had tried to do too much, that they should move back to more limited projects temporarily and could eventually return to a broader more open-ended approach. "What we didn't do this year was see the limitations of the time structure."

David, who was most responsible for the particular implementation of the interdisciplinary approach, apologized to the staff for the failure of the whole-group activities, but was still concerned that the kids seemed unwilling to try things outside of their own areas. But J.R. pointed out that the students had not been given any guides on what to take risks on, and Beth felt it was "like jumping into a pool with no

water." Still, students were discovering they had other talents and interests; one visual arts student discovered she loved ballet and in fact switched the following year into the dance area. And a dance student was found to be very talented in visual arts. The following year did see a marked increase in real interdisciplinary activity. The students produced an original show based on material the creative writers had developed following several trips to downtown Waterton. Nearly all the material was original and the show required a lot of interaction among all the art forms to come off successfully, which it did. But this seemed to derive more from the development of trust within the faculty, between the staff and director, and between the faculty and the students, than from any strong ideological acceptance of the idea.

In fact, our questionnaires show that although there was disagreement about what "interdisciplinary" meant and how to operationalize it, 11 out of 13 staff members responded that they did in fact "believe in the notion of the interrelatedness of the arts." We conclude that this nominal commitment during the first year, given pressures to deal with basics, and problems of mistrust, was not enough to bring about clear achievement of this goal.

6. Identifying developed and undeveloped talent. The staff agreed that they had been successful in locating undeveloped as well as developed talent. They had also accepted several students who probably should not have been included, but the planners had early on anticipated that the selection would be difficult and intuitive. David felt that they had still not rooted out the top 3-5 per cent of the school population, but there were a goodly number of highly talented students, and others somewhat less talented who still had a lot to contribute.

Staff members also agreed that some of them had overestimated the basic abilities that the students had to start with, and had given students assignments beyond their scope in the beginning. The adults were shocked at the lack of sophistication even among the trained students, felt that most did not have any kind of overall appreciation of the arts, and agreed that this should be one of their underlying objectives in the program.

As a result of the pressure to look good to the outside, staff began to worry about how talented or not the students were. The staff had to confront the question of what to do with the less talented students for the following year, and discussed this at their April all-staff meeting.

> David: If they are not talented, do we get rid of them? That's a hard one.
>
> Barry: I wouldn't say get rid of them. It's especially hard in singing to know. Take the great baritone who was told at 18 that he was no good and to forget it. He went back and worked really hard and he made it big. How can you know?

Susan: I think it may put more pressure on the kids and in fact limit them if we do that, if they have that hanging over their heads.

Boris: Take a kid like Art. He's very talented, but he doesn't come very often. On the other hand, I have another one who shouldn't be here but he's diligent.

David: I think you really have to look at your kids carefully and decide.

Milton: I do think we have to be careful because if we keep a kid who isn't good it reflects on the school.

As Barry implied, "potential" or "undeveloped" talent was not so easy to spot or be sure of. Milton seemed to be responding more to the pressure to look good than to the complexities of identifying and nurturing developing talent. And David, for whom developing creativity in all students, not just the highly talented, was a strong personal preference, can now be seen as adhering more strongly to the stated goal of identifying the top 3-5 per cent of the school population - the outstandingly talented student.

In the end, several students were asked not to return, among them the diligent student who "shouldn't be here" and several of the talented students who were overextended or who did not come often, preventing others from taking their place. The auditions for the fall semester, held in May and June, elicited a really good response, with many more students, of higher caliber than the previous year, trying out for only a few spots (33 of the 56 students planned to return).

Some of the untrained students turned out to be among the most outstanding talents in the program. Warren, a sax player from Waterton, had little formal training but a wonderful tone, a good ear, and the ability to improvise. Those who were trained in one form were able to expand into other areas of their discipline. Randall, a French horn player, had a completely classical background. At the first jazz jam session, he put away his horn and listened. But within a few months, he had branched out and was comfortably improvising. The same was true of dancers who had had straight ballet training, and moved into modern and jazz dance.

7. Self-growth and the development of creativity versus product orientation. During the early and late planning periods, the emphasis had been on the individual growth and development of the students. While this emphasis remained during the operational period, it was partly superseded by a product orientation. The implementers - the artists - cared very much about producing high quality art, and David stressed this in his opening speech. The confusion and ambiguity around product

was a result of the juxtaposition of the planners' dictum that product was less important than the exploration of creativity and the implementers' feeling that the quality of the art produced should be high. It was important to David and to the way the school looked that the products be good enough to stand up when judged against outside artistic standards. Goal succession was taking place, but this was not wholly clear to the staff or to the students until the very end of the semester.

In the early months of the program, David and the staff grew concerned that the students were not extending themselves enough, that they were not serious enough. Milton felt there was too much looseness and freedom, and Barry followed up on this, saying that the staff needed to do a little "subtle prodding of the students toward professionalism." He and Beth both pushed for more performance. Beth said she hadn't seen much in the way of products yet, but Iris worried that the students were not yet ready for that kind of pressure. Other staff members disagreed;

> Jan: I think that they are afraid to fail. Some of the kids have no experience at all. Let them do some performing, let them show themselves. I don't think that they are lazy.
>
> Jack: I think it's the lack of knowing what discipline is.
>
> David: None of the students are used to doing the arts as work. Probably in retrospect we should have given more emphasis to production.
>
> J.R.: I've been production oriented from the beginning with them. I figured that they had to do a lot of garbage to get something good. It's a new way of looking at art for them, that it's work instead of play. It takes a while to get adjusted.
>
> David: I agree that they have to have external standards but they have to internalize it as well.

The student performance that was given in June capped the staff and director's feeling that product and performance needed greater emphasis - David said he was disappointed at the performance, both in content and presentation.

What was interesting about this goal succession was that although the students were still graded on their level of effort and individual improvement, David had begun to judge the faculty on the basis of their students' products. But this was not made clear and caused the staff to be uptight and angry about the changing emphasis - they were ultimately being judged on something which they had initially been led to believe was not a major objective of the program.

David's method of staff evaluation and his decisions about rehiring reflected this changing emphasis. To review: As David had told the staff he would, he put together a "visiting committee" of area artists to evaluate the program. David told the staff at one point that these people were friends and that theirs would essentially be a positive set of judgements for the public record. But near the end of the semester, when the committee was observing, David told the staff that he would not make any final decisions on rehiring until he had had a report from the visiting committee. As late as June, staff members were very unclear about the real purpose of the visiting committee and about their job situations for the coming year.

The visiting artists only came in a few times, did little in the way of interviewing of students or staff, and, where there were tangible products, looked at them. Carole complained that she had had no advance warning and she did not have a good sample of her students' work displayed. Jan felt it made no sense to have evaluators come in only at the end, especially since they only shot in and shot out. And, as we have seen, although David did not admit it publicly to the staff, he did make or confirm his judgements on the basis of the opinions of the visiting committee and other visitors, and the visitors made a lot of their judgements on the basis of the students' products. At least one staff member was not rehired because of reports by the visitors that the work seemed ordinary and not very high quality.

8. Bringing something back to the sending communities. Participants in Arts Co-op made some progress toward this goal, but they felt the need to build up the internal program first. Students and staff gave small performances: poetry readings at the Waterton library, for example. Barbara Danton, a visual arts student who became the articulate student representative to the Administrative Council, initiated a tutoring project for junior high school students; this was the result of her grabbing onto an opportune remark by a Warren junior high school principal that they could use some help. The staff discussed possible performances and worried about doing assemblies in the sending schools, since high school kids are so cruel in assemblies, and Barry suggested they turn it around and have the students come to Arts Co-op. This was done informally, especially with students who thought they might be interested in joining the program the following year. But this was the least active of the efforts to achieve the planners' goals, and although students, staff and director kept it in mind, they did not do a great amount toward this goal in the first semester.

On balance, then, it seems fair to say that the majority of the projected goals for Arts Co-op were well achieved. Arts Co-op was successful in locating both developed and undeveloped talent. Students and faculty developed into a mutually-supportive community; students got a clear view of what it meant to be an artist, and racial, ethnic and class integration was furthered in the process. The goals of seeing the interrelatedness of the arts, and bringing something back to

the communities were perhaps least well accomplished. And although self-growth and creativity were clearly supported, the increasing shift toward product orientation may have given a mixed message to students.*

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* After reading the draft of this case study, David had a long summary comment about how he viewed the design, goals, and organizational needs of the new Arts Co-op:

> As the study recognizes, a critical issue in starting a new program is how to retain the design and values of the planners. Often, when the design is infused with democratic values, conflicts will develop between the original design and new thrusts that grow out of the apparently more realistic ideas of the day-to-day implementers. After all, if the organization is really democratic, why can't this be changed...why not that? These responses to the daily buffeting of the environment must be resisted long enough to be certain that the original concepts are given a chance to succeed or fail. How else can you evaluate them?
>
> I was committed both to the substance of the original concept and to the planners as a representative group from the community. I felt obliged to go as far as I could with that design. I thought that establishing the design was more important than a democratically-run organization and had never offered to run the program democratically. We did change our methodology after it was evident that it was doing more harm than good; but I needed to know that a new methodology was required. We managed to stay largely within the original concept.
>
> My focus was on maintaining the external boundaries from IASC intrusion and on modeling self-reflectiveness to staff and students; the latter (a la Sarason) with the hope that it would be internalized. I did not work effectively on interpreting the planners' ideas (through pedagogical methodologies) for the staff and students (in staff meetings or by leading the interdisciplinary events myself).
>
> I felt that my role was to serve the planners and the students; and that, generally, the role of paid professionals in the program was to serve those who had established the conceptual and political groundwork and were assuring the financial wherewithal. I thought that they did have genuine authority. IASC separated itself from the persons with that authority (Sobel, planners) and never demonstrated any effort to learn about the program until extremely late. They then tried to assume the power; but never in their dealings with me expressed the knowledge of the goals or roots of the program that would have suggested that they had the authority to lead it. To me, underlying the regionalization issue, is the issue of the relationship of power and authority.

The social system of Arts Co-Op. To recapitulate, the structure of the program was characterized by the centrality of the director, segmentation, and vulnerability to the outside. The staffing pattern had a full-time director and secretary, but staff came in only for the hours they taught and were paid as consultants, with no formal rights. There was little formal hierarchy other than the authority of the director over everyone else, and there was an absence of formal lateral linkages among the staff as a result of the program structure. There was extreme pressure from the environment, including the intense IASC pressure on David Steinhoff and IASC's interference in the direct operation of Arts Co-op (demands for lesson plans and constant supervision of students);* and the pressures from the sending schools (to be good but not a threat, about rescheduling students, about students leaving school at 12:30, from arts teachers angry about losing their talented students). The latter put a strain on the students as well, who were caught between Arts Co-op and their sending schools. The underbudgeting continually inhibited the possibilities for interaction and activity. There was a tremendous level of stress, especially on the director, who tended to buffer the staff from 99 per cent of the IASC struggle and protected the staff and students from most other external considerations, except when their support was needed for some specific purpose.

In fact, one of the secretaries characterized Arts Co-op as having "levels of relaxedness going toward the kids", with the tension increasing up to the administrative level, which was far and away the most stressed. David, preoccupied with the environmental struggles, was often insensitive and extremely anxious; this coupled with the staff's lack of formal rights, underpaid status, and their lack of understanding of just how threatened David was in the IASC conflict, made the staff in turn, tense, anxious, and angry with David - but they buffered 99 per cent of that from the students. The students, to whom David's opinions and judgements were very important, sensed some of the tension in David's inability to sit still for very long, but for the most part loved the school, had strong ties to their teachers and peers, and thrived in the flexible and supportive atmosphere. They were willing to fight for the continuance of Arts Co-op; students went to Board of Education meetings when budget time came around, and successfully lobbied for the program. But although David shared a little of the details of the struggle with IASC and the potential threat to the program with students, he took the same approach with the students as with the staff and everyone else - he resisted trying to case-build against IASC and tended to communicate to others that this was his problem to deal with.

In fact, we can see in hindsight that David never made effective use of his "groups" for political support and ensured survival. This

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*"And," added David in his comments, IASC failed "to provide any environmental support, while trying to isolate us from seeking our own support."

was true with the Administrative and Advisory Councils, with the staff, with the students, with the planners, and with the parents.[34] The following year, when the conflict with IASC came to a head, David found that he did in fact have explicit commitment and support from at least the four latter groups, which, had he cultivated carefully and used appropriately, could have turned into an effective weapon against IASC. David really suffered from the isolation of the leader.

We should comment in more detail on three aspects of the Arts Co-op social system: the way power was exercised, the commitment of participants, and the methods for communication and coordination.

1. Hierarchy, power and decision-making. The only clear formal hierarchical aspect of the internal program structure involved David: he had the most power and influence of anyone. The staff had no formal rights (i.e. no benefits, no job security, no protection in hiring and firing) because they were paid and viewed as consultants. The staff in most cases had more influence than the students, but often felt that David listened to outsiders over his own staff, and often took students' opinions more seriously than he did staff's.

Only David had any real, formal power. Everyone else's depended on his or her ability to influence David. The staff's power was based on the fact that they could quit and this could upset the organization, but that was essentially their only trump card, and not a good one at that, since David had criticisms of nearly everyone on the staff. Our questionnaire data show that the staff was divided in their feelings about how much power, control, and influence they had. For example, seven people of 13 felt that "faculty members have been given sufficient opportunity to discuss and define our school's goals" while six disagreed with that statement. Eight staff members said they would like to have more or much more "input than I currently have into the way Arts Co-op is run." And our sociometric data cites David as having "the most influence on what happens" with 10 votes; Milton Ziegler was second with five votes. Only two other staff members were cited at all in this category, and only by two or three people each.

Students probably had a great deal more influence than they usually do in traditional schools. They were included in some of the decision-making and had a voting representative on the Administrative Council. David organized a student representative council which met periodically on Thursdays from 2:00-3:00; while they were not very active at first, they did take part in auditioning the new students for the following year. Students' opinions counted heavily, and they felt

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34) David had planned to set in motion the formation of a parents' group on the "meet the staff night" in early April, but forgot, and a parents' group did not get going until the following semester.

they had the right to complain and get action about teachers and programs that were not fulfilling their needs.

Teachers still had formal power over students, based on the fact that Arts Co-op had to assume certain functions of a public school, including grading and attendance-reporting, but there was no use of these mechanisms in a punitive fashion, and status differences between adults and adolescents tended to be minimized.

The secretaries, of whom there was a parade of four during the first year and a continuing succession the second, had the least power of anyone, even though David had hoped to have the secretary act as the artist-assistant. Susan Torra, who was the secretary-administrative assistant from November through March, was really an actress and drama teacher whom David promised theater area responsibilities. But David did not make good use of her talents, and he was very upset when she decided to give up the position in March. He convinced her to come in on Thursdays, to run her group for interdisciplinary day, and by the end of the school year, David was certain that she would have been his choice to run the drama department the following year. But the horribly cramped office space, the high level of anxiety and tension emanating from David, the terrible pay, and an enormous work load made the position quite undesirable from most points of view. More centrally, perhaps, Susan and her two successors (June Thoreau and Janie Rossiter both sculptors as well as secretaries) left the job it seemed, because of the frustration of their powerless positions; they had numerous ideas and useful, valid, criticisms of the program, but David made them feel it was not their place to express their views.

In sum, decision-making and power were concentrated in David, the director. The centrality and segmentation allowed this condition. Milton Ziegler, who had influence and power in his own right in the artistic and educational communities, was the second most powerful person at Arts Co-op. Staff and students had somewhat less power, and the secretaries had the least of all.

2. Commitment. There was an extremely high level of commitment among all levels of the organization. Most students had had to give something up to come to Arts Co-op. Many felt the strain of being part of two schools - resentment from their regular schools for leaving early, academic pressure caused by missing classes, tests, additional homework load, the loss of after-school job possibilities, and sports. They spent an extra hour in school, since most of the sending schools dismissed at 2:00 while Arts Co-op continued until 3:00, and then had long rides home after intense and tiring afternoons at Arts Co-op. Those who were not suited to the program or who were unwilling to put up with the various strains mostly left the program early on; there were some attendance problems which in most cases derived from the above pressure. With the exception of a few, most students were highly committed to the program.

The staff members were also in the position of giving up things to teach at Arts Co-op. While several needed the job, some faculty made almost absurd sacrifices (Iris spent a major portion of her small salary in travel costs, and a good part of her time in travel) because they were devoted to the program and the kids. Staff who could not afford to work at Arts Co-op (low pay, and few opportunities for half-time work in the area) left before opening, and Rob Wolfe, the sculpture teacher, found he was overextended and had to quit in March. There was a high degree of loyalty to David, with staff saying that if David were to leave (e.g. as a result of the IASC conflict), they would leave with him. And as a result of the unpleasant conflict with IASC, David always kept in the back of his mind the possibility of leaving. But he kept putting off the decision until he could feel some confidence that the program was well established and accomplishing its goals and vision. It seemed to be the secretaries who cracked first, possibly because they bore the tension of the external conflict, were a major integrating device among staff, students, and director, but were in positions of powerlessness and frustration.

3. Communication, coordination, and planning. Interaction and communication among participants in the school reflected the structural situation: a central leader and a segmented organization. The vast majority of communications went through David. He had his own connections to the students, based on both his personal recruitment of most of the students and his one-to-one style, which did not go through the individual art area teachers. David knew all the students by name within a day or two of opening, but staff tended to know mainly their own students, some from the group with whom they worked on interdisciplinary day, and perhaps a few others. Staff members tended to know all the other staff by name, but 12 out of 13 responded on our questionnaire that they "would like more colleagueship with the other staff." Students knew all their peers in their areas, but did not know everyone in the school. And although the staff had agreed during the pre-operational period that it was all right for students to visit other classes, many students did not even know where all the other classes were held and never really found out during the semester. So despite the relative smallness of the organization and the conscious devices for building community, not everyone knew everyone else.

The budget concerns limited interaction among the staff; meetings were short, and faculty were only in the school from 1:00-3:00 when they were teaching, so even informal contact was limited and catch-as-catch-can. David told the consultant that in terms of meetings,

> I felt they've always been an imposition on this group, so I've tried to keep them shorter than planned (less than an hour) which has meant they've been very business-like and to the point. Now Iris and I had it in the back of our minds that at some point we should begin to use the meetings to do some exploration using an art form.

Bu that never materialized during the first semester. Planning was also limited by the tight budget; staff members were paid for one hour of planning time per day, but this usually went into the planning for their own art area classes, not into overall planning. And David also reflected to the researcher that much more could have been "preplanned about the unity of the program" and said that some of the non-planning that had occurred in the pre-operational period had been done to avoid conflict.

Staff within art areas tended to have the most contact. Friendships and interaction with staff of other areas depended more on logistics than anything else (what days they taught, whether they were Monday or Thursday staff meeting people, who drove whom to the train station).

Staff felt that they usually got adequate information, although much of it came through David to individuals, and sometimes some people would get missed in this process. There was a minimum of formal memos and bureaucratic paper work from the administration to the staff.

Structural characteristics and the social system. We have repeatedly emphasized that the Arts Co-op had a highly central director coordinating a strongly segmented system, and that Arts Co-op faced a great deal of pressure and penetrability from its environment. How did these three basic structural characteristics - centrality, segmentation, and vulnerability to the outside - influence the development of Arts Co-op's particular social organization?

1. Centrality and segmentation. In many ways, the organizational model of central leader and dispersed departments was an appropriate one for this setting, allowing for coordination while maintaining the flexibility the planners and implementers believed was necessary to accomplish their goals. It permitted a high degree of autonomy within art areas, so the specialists in each field would have primary responsibility for the development and implementation of their (specialized) programs. It allowed the different art areas to be treated differently, which was also appropriate, given that staff and program needs varied, and actions had to respond to different pressures (e.g., dance did not really have to worry about not replicating what was offered in the sending districts, since no dance was offered in the regular schools, but visual arts was under a great deal of pressure to differentiate itself, was more likely to be viewed as competitive with the sending school programs, and suffered as a result of the scarcity of materials available, especially in comparison to the resources of some of the sending towns). Faculty had different kinds of talent, and it was up to David to coordinate and make best use of the available skills and talents without losing these contributions due to administrative demands for uniformity.

But this model had a less explicit feature: it permitted those faculty members with greater influence and power (based, for example, on their status in their professions, their standing in the community)

to be treated differently. For example, David did not push Milton and Barry on the interdisciplinary approach, (and let them get away with not scheduling a music person on Thursdays) apparently because both were extremely important in the music, university, and civic communities; David needed both them and a legitimate music program very badly. In addition, David felt more insecure about launching a music program than he did about other areas. The combination of Milton's influential external position and David's insecurity about Milton's field made David tread lightly in his criticisms and interference with the music area. And although David did share some of his dissatisfaction about attendance and fragmentation problems in the music area with Milton, the rest of the staff felt music was treated differently and grew increasingly irritated as other director/staff disagreements emerged during the semester.

The centralized leader model did permit David to retain control of the disparate parts of the organization. And to some extent, he admitted that he did not yet fully trust other staff enough to delegate too much of the responsibility and the staff's hourly-paid "consultant" status abetted this. But David Steinhoff's centrality, unlike the IASC pressure for standardization and uniformity, seemed designed to enhance flexibility through simple linkages to the center, with entrenched bureaucratic machinery minimal. Finally, the staff of practicing artists did not have that sheeplike intimidated countenance so often found among public school teachers; most had no problem in disagreeing with the director and taking independent action when they felt it was important. So despite the staff's lack of formal power, they were strong individuals who fought back.

But the segmented model also had severe drawbacks, mainly to the development of community and the organic development of an interdisciplinary approach. As Milton commented in the April 25 all-staff meeting:

> The only really disappointing thing about the school for me is the lack of unity. We are all over the place. There is no opportunity to stop in the hall and say, 'hey, what's happening? What are you doing?' If we had a central place there would probably be a constant display of things. That would be true also of the performing arts - we could have a weekly display. It's terrible that we don't have that.

Although, as we have noted, the staff who had been present at the pre-operational staff meetings had agreed that it would be all right for students to visit other classes, this did not happen regularly. Sometimes, a whole class went and observed another whole class (for example, the visual artists often sketched the dancers, and the creative writers observed the dance and drama classes). But Beth Baum, one of the music theory teachers, who had not been present at the pre-operational staff meetings, did not permit other students into her

classes; dancers often locked the door, and the creative writers were rarely to be found in their classroom. And although the planners had opted for an afternoon rather than a morning session to permit students to stay after hours if they were really into something, the logistics of transportation (with buses waiting at 3:00) eliminated this.

But despite the dispersed classes and the sharp division into areas, despite the conflict about the interdisciplinary day activities and the formal community building efforts, a strong esprit was developing, of which the students were the core. This happened first within the art areas, but eventually encompassed the whole program. David had made it explicit to the students that staff time and commitment were structurally transient, and that only the students (and David) were there every day, so that the program depended on the students for continuity. By March and April, an especially committed group of students had begun to form; they came regularly, liked the school, and began to take responsibility for themselves and for the program. This group, about half of the student body, were the ones who would stay with the program and return the following year. Within this group, there was a smaller group of students who were becoming highly respected by their peers and by the faculty. As the semester wore on, students gained an increasing influence in decisions about program and staffing. So it is at least possible that (a) David's centrality and access to the students, along with his commitment to community-building, outweighed segmentation pressures; and/or that (b) the segmentation allowed students to build a strong cross-town "home base group" in each art area, from which they could securely develop cross-area, school-wide linkages.

Another problem with the segmented structure was the difficulty of planning and coordination, exacerbated by the limited budget inhibiting full-staff gatherings. A concomitant problem was whether it was legitimate or effective to develop systematically planned programs to unleash creativity. David felt that many of the inter-disciplinary activities suffered from overintellectualization and overly rational planning which resulted in a number of duds. Creativity demands making new things out of available pieces, and that process is not very tangible or rational by definition. Hence, the staff's effectiveness in this area really depended on their being able to share their talents with one another, learn what each had to offer, and develop some common views of young people and the arts. But there were few support structures for lateral interaction among the staff, so the initially divergent view of the staff only moved slowly toward anything like a shared philosophy - even though the planners' goals were made very clear by David.

The segmentation also permitted a certain avoidance of conflict. David had not expected the intense disagreement about the interdisciplinary approach which surfaced at the first staff meeting in the pre-operational period, and did not feel there was sufficient time prior to opening to work it out, and he said:

> It's funny. When I took this job I told myself the next job I went into I didn't want to be stressful, that I was planning to enjoy myself. Obviously there's a tendency to carry your hell within, but this does have the potential of being an enjoyable thing - working with the arts and these kinds of kids, and this staff. I didn't expect to run into quite the outside problems I have, and as a result I think I've compensated by trying to avoid conflict within/the program/.

And there was conflict amongst the staff, one of the more obvious being a tension between Iris (heavy on interdisciplinary work) and Milton (opposed). But most of the time Iris and Milton didn't have to see each other or work together. What David was less aware of was the growing tension between himself, the generalist administrator, and his staff of specialist individualist artists. As we have seen, the centrality of his position backfired by cutting him off, permitting arbitrary, unilateral decision-making, and making him unable to see the staff's increasingly high level of commitment, ownership, and loyalty to him and to the program. And finally, the centrality intensified the system's difficulties: it overburdened an already overburdened director.

2. Vulnerability to the outside. Arts Co-op's survival and continuation was precarious and the program was vulnerable on two fronts - to its supervising organization, IASC, and to the sending communities. We have already outlined the economic fragility of the enterprise, the under-budgeting situation, and the need for the sending districts to eventually pick up the costs of the program in full. David worried that the conceptual and economic model for the school might not be adequate or appropriate for the Winchester County situation; as he told the consultant, the model derived from Northtown's NCA, which was developed with a very large budget in the years before the educational fiscal crunch, and which had the participation of 16 school districts, of which the urban center was the initiator, core, and site for the program. For Arts Co-op

> Economically, there are enormous obstacles - a cost of $1,700 per kid, and I have to bring those costs down, and the only way I can do that is to raise the number of kids. The only way I can do that is with a lot of help from IASC. I guess if I had to envision it, it would be 120 kids, and an on-going relationship with the University of Waterton or the Waterton schools as to space. Basically it could be the same structure, but there would have to be an assistant, someone to free me to do more developing. Ideally, I would like to have a place where we could serve all ages and have them all utilizing the place, and ideally we would get funds for a building.

But IASC was not helpful in the expansion of the school, although David Kelman paid lip service to this need. As we have seen, Kelman also forbade Steinhoff to make contacts with the area superintendents except through IASC.

Arts Co-op was successful in getting allocations from the sending towns for the following year, including over $35,000 requested from the Waterton Board of Education. But two years down the pike, when Title IV-c funding was to end, the picture was not so bright, and unless tuitions could be brought down substantially, (through program expansion) there was little chance that sending towns would approve the expenditure.

Kelman's effective manipulation of the governance structure increased vulnerability: it gave the internal program of Arts Co-op little protection against IASC's interference (changes in the budget, demands for lesson plans, close supervision, procedural uniformity, and control over approval of small, day-to-day expenditures).

The sending schools and districts were scrutinizing the program closely, sending their district specialists and arts teachers to observe Arts Co-op. Arts Co-op needed the cooperation of the sending schools administrations and faculties so that they would continue to send them students, and not place additional strains on the students participating in the regular schools and Arts Co-op. Also, the sending schools had influence with their local Boards of Education, and could easily fight against allocations for Arts Co-op.

This vulnerability meant that Arts Co-op had to look good to the outside while being very closely scrutinized during its nascent stages. This need to look good contributed to a certain amount of goal succession; product and performance demands became increasingly important over self-growth concerns as the semester progressed. The numerous visitors (most of whom came only once) put pressure on the program to display work and evidence finished products and performance. But the organization and the relationships were still in formative stages, and given the seriousness and depth of the program goals and mandates, instant results were not possible. The outside was less interested in the struggle to get at the core needs around creativity and artistic development than in seeing tangible and judgeable products. Furthermore, the staff themselves began to worry by April that they were not demanding enough of the students, that the students were not extending themselves enough. At least some of this concern was a reaction to the visibility of the program, and to their worry that their abilities as teachers were negatively reflected by unsophisticated or non-innovative student projects.

The need to be different from the sending schools, one of the mandates for the program (which derived in the purest sense from the need to fulfill unfulfilled needs), derived in practical terms from the competition for funds from the sending districts. If students could get those services in the sending district, why spend money on a

special program? Even though the program's major identifying feature was its small, responsive human system which nurtured the development of an artistic community, sending schools tended to concentrate on Arts Co-op's curriculum rather than its atmosphere. The unsuccessful emphasis on the interdisciplinary approach and David's insistence on its formal inclusion as a separate day of activities rather than an underlying philosophy pervading the whole program, were partly a result of this need to be obviously different and project an idiosyncratic identity.

Many of the people who viewed the program had very positive reactions, but it was also possible for those who wished to be critical to find areas to criticize, and David was the first to tell people about the problems they found.

Within this context of scrutiny and vulnerability, there was a large worry about losing students. David, the planners, and the staff fully expected there would be students who were not well matched to the program, given the difficulty of identifying developed and undeveloped talent. And when this happened, staff and director tried to find out why, and which ones had left because the program was not doing something it was supposed to be doing. Enrollment went up and down, month to month. But whether the reasons for students leaving were legitimate or not, it looked bad to the outside. (David Kelman would later use the fluctuations against David Steinhoff's abilities as a director.) This was also true of attendance problems (since attendance was reported to the sending schools), but staff were more concerned about what the absent student was missing, what his/her peers were missing in the potential exchange of skills and talent, and how this detracted from the building of a solid community within departments and the school.

Given the conflict with IASC, the visibility of the program to the sending communities, and the feeling that there were many elements out there waiting to pounce when Arts Co-op made a mistake, Ron Kirk, the consultant, pointed out the necessity of "boundary maintenance". As we have already noted. Once Ron had alerted David to this issue, David became quite conscious of the relationship of outsiders to the internal system, and of the need to protect the inside with certain kinds of defenses. He warned the students and staff to be extra careful when Kelman and Browning were around the school, and organized various buffering mechanisms to manage visitors' entry and defuse their criticisms (e.g., by requesting their suggestions).

So internal centrality and segmentation on the one hand, and boundary permeability and vulnerability on the other, had strong effects on the way Arts Co-op developed as a social system.

Analysis and Commentary

Political stabilization. By the end of the first semester, Arts Co-op had secured a fairly firm position in relation to the sending towns. The districts had approved the enlarged allocations needed to supplement the Title IV-c grant for the 1977-78 school year. Despite the rather large sums involved ($35,000 from Waterton, for example), the expenditures passed, (and the $17,000 that had been initially cut from the Waterton budget was reinstated), some indication that the sending towns were satisfied with Arts Co-op's progress. David was able to secure additional small grant monies to supplement the budget.

But in the fight to protect Arts Co-op's autonomy, IASC and Kelman had gained the edge over Steinhoff and Arts Co-op. The Administrative Council was disenfranchised by the IASC Representative Council. The conflict between Steinhoff and his staff considerably weakened his position vis à vis IASC, and David felt that the combination of the staff conflict and the Administrative Council disenfranchisement would limit his freedom to act in the fall semester, and he was not looking forward to the situation. And, as Ron Kirk had warned David at their initial meeting, Steinhoff would probably lose to Kelman if the conflict came to a head, because Kelman had more formal authority and power on his side. (We should note that Kelman also demonstrated a good bit more political skill than Steinhoff: he was quite adept at such matters as defining the situation in his own terms, acting proactively toward the environment, and building a strong support base. There is a temptation to stereotype the Kelman-Steinhoff conflict as something "chemical", a matter of Kelman's irrational need for power or advancement and his mismatch with Steinhoff the autonomous innovator. But the fact is that the institutional stakes of the two men, however much they may have grated on each other personally, were different and to some degree incompatible.)

Arts Co-op's political strategizing in relation to the governance conflict with IASC was not very effective during this period. The Administrative Council settled for informal assurances, (not unlike those the superintendents who had designed the governance structure had relied on), and two months later had its power clearly limited by the IASC Representative Council. Jane's network of contacts and her credibility from the local up to the state level were, surprisingly, not much help in the fight. Arts Co-op could not get the Commissioner to take any kind of supportive position toward them, since this would have put him in conflict with the regional agency; the state's non-interference was in fact positive help for Kelman's consolidation of power at IASC.

We have mentioned that David Steinhoff did not make good use of his groups, and this needs to be emphasized here. Kelman, on the other hand, used the Representative Council skillfully to enhance his legitimacy, and to make and carry out policies which he supported but could not push through alone. Rather than the Administrative Council's

enhancing David Steinhoff's legitimacy, it allowed its own legitimacy to be negated. Steinhoff buffered the staff from the IASC conflict, thinking they did not need to be burdened with this level of concern, but this buffering backfired in that the staff was not sensitive to just how pressured and threatened Steinhoff was. The planners, many of whom had been apprised of the situation, found they too had little power against the decisions of the IASC Executive Director and the Representative Council, on which sat only two of Arts Co-op's participating towns. Jane, David, and their supporters kept hoping that Kelman's contradictions would catch up with him and that he would eventually expose himself. But their hope was vain: Kelman was successfully building IASC into a financially solvent organization, and for his constituents, this was the issue of paramount importance.

In summary, by the close of the first semester of operation Arts Co-op's position in relation to the sending towns was fairly good. The program had obtained sufficient financial support for the coming year. The relationship to the state was somewhat distant, with some support from the Title IV-c office, who positively evaluated the project and agreed to fund the program at the same level for the second year rather than cutting the allocation by 25 per cent. The Commissioner's non-interference in local affairs hurt Arts Co-op and helped IASC. And the relationship with IASC was terrible in June of 1977, with little hope that the situation would improve in the future.

Knowledge utilization. David was an even more active researcher and knowledge gatherer than Jane had been. He cited research in his project and evaluation reports, and was continually getting advice and suggestions from artists and educators. Although the constant visitors were somewhat of a burden for the staff and students, David used them to give their impressions and criticisms of the program.

Outside consultants were used both in substantive and process areas, and the director was very open to their inputs. David hired some visiting artists to come in and teach classes, and the students and staff felt these visits were a great asset to their own teaching and learning in the discipline.

The director made less good use of the knowledge and expertise which existed within the staff, partly due to a lack of money for additional meeting, planning, and teaching time, and partly due to David's style - his tendency to listen to outsiders over his own staff and his criticalness, which turned him off to some of the staff.

NCA was still a model for comparison and a source for ideas for Arts Co-op. Members of the planning group shared their expertise (Joan Blackburn visited during the first week of school and several times afterward, giving her impressions of the program and its needs). David made some use of the expertise of the Advisory Committee (especially Albert Artesio in music, Sam Taylor in visual arts (and for the whole program), Margaret Howard Stanley, both for theater and the whole program, and Shirley Browne in dance.

Actualization. As we have noted, the planners had an uncanny ability to envision what life would be like for the participants of Arts Co-op. Most of the elements of the vision which had been laid down during the early and late planning periods could be put into action by the implementers without a great deal of difficulty.

Most of the goals were adhered to fairly carefully. One, the interdisciplinary approach, was adhered to despite objections, confusion, and disagreement by a substantial number of staff members. David would never let go of this goal, since (a) he believed in it conceptually; (b) it was Margaret Howard Stanley's "baby" and she continued to be a strong mentor for the program, and the strongest and most influential ally in the art community; and (c) it had been a central part of the planning vision, to which David was strongly committed.

There was some goal succession, mainly around the issue of product and performance as versus the development of an individual student's creativity and growth. There was not strong ideological disagreement among the staff around the need to produce, although some felt that they were not demanding of the students, and pressure to produce and perform could help change that, while others felt students did not need that kind of pressure. The real pressure for the succession of goals came from the program's vulnerability to the outside and the high level of scrutiny to which the program was subjected. And the director and staff also realized that if the products and performances did not look good, they and the school would not look good either.

It was more the structure of the program which caused difficulties in relation to achieving portions of the vision. In particular, both the planners and David during the pre-operational period had realized that the staff would make or break the school. But the staff, a group of highly committed individuals, were poorly paid, had no formal rights, and were relatively powerless within the organization.* The lack of lateral support structures did not aid in developing a community of artists, and the segmentation into art areas also detracted from efforts to achieve this goal. On the other hand, the organizational model was in many ways very appropriate to the differing demands of the various staff members and the different art disciplines.

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*To be fair, as David stated upon reading this section, he also

> envisioned a larger and safer role for staff once it was clearer what the program was to be and who was effective. It was too early to become involved in complex formal relationships.

The Administrative Council, especially during the pre-operational period, placed some constraints on David's actions, and protected some pieces of the plan (mainly the regionalization concerns) from changes David proposed. But there was generally little constraining of the implementers by the planners; David used the planners as advisors and there was a good deal of contact between many of those who had been on the planning committee and the opened school.

David sought a great deal of feedback on how they were doing on actualizing the school, in the form of questionnaires, evaluations, the all-staff "stocktaking" meeting where they reviewed each planning goal and the school's progress toward accomplishing it, visitors' reports and comments, and process and technical consulting advice.

The main problem with actualizing the school in a form congruent with what the planners had envisioned came from IASC's denial of the legitimacy of the program's governance. This affected not only the roles and power of the governing bodies and people, but interfered with some of the basic philosophy of the program,which the planners felt demanded flexibility, individual and situation-specific problem solving, and an open-ended curriculum. In contrast, IASC wanted uniformity of procedure, standardization of content, and a lesson plan/behavioral objectives approach to curriculum. By the close of the first semester, the governance structure was in disarray, and there was still no resolution of who had the right to make decisions about what went on inside Arts Co-op.

Institutionalization. Arts Co-op stabilized fairly quickly. The first week was noticeable in its lack of chaos, especially in comparison to the frenzy of the pre-operational period. There were numerous "startup bugs", but compared to our other sites, staff and students managed quite well.

Within three weeks of opening, the pattern for the week had been established, attendance procedures were working smoothly, entry data had been collected on the students, staff and students were fixing up their space, staff meetings were set, and the school was moving along in its implementation, assuming a character of its own.

Interdisciplinary day was an early example of attempts to institutionalize aspects of the program. David's decision to have the same day each week set aside for interdisciplinary activity was based on his belief in the need to emphasize and define the importance of the interdisciplinary approach in the school, to establish a regular pattern so that staff and students would accept it as an integral part of the

school; they would not have to redecide each week when to hold it, and risk its sacrifice to demands of the individual art areas. Ironically, while David designed the interdisciplinary day to ensure that an important goal not be lost, the rigidity of the design decision backfired: it did more to deinstitutionalize the concept than support it.*

Except for the interdisciplinary day structure, most attempts to establish patterns in the school did not suffer from rigidity or inflexibility. In fact, the underlying philosophy of the school helped to prevent the development of overly standardized procedures and structures. A certain amount of routinization did occur without negative effects, and in most cases was necessary to insure the political stabilization and survival of the program (e.g. procedures for the auditioning and selection of students; grading and credit; attendance). But the emphasis was on flexibility and attention to the particular demands of the situation rather than rigid adherence to procedures.

Establishing the student council and getting the student member chosen for the Administrative Council helped to institutionalize methods for student responsibility-taking, initiative, and participation in decision making and also helped to create a stable community of students where staff participation was transient and intermittent because of the structure of the program. In addition, David did make operational procedures clear to the students, as he had promised to in his opening day speech, and the commitment to clarity on issues which could potentially separate staff and students helped to build the atmosphere of trust between teenagers and adults. But the growing level of student responsibility in Arts Co-op was probably as much a result of the treatment of students as capable, talented, and important people by the staff as it was the result of the development of particular structures and procedures.

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* David repeated his comment that he felt the real"problem here was my failure to work effectively with the staff on making the concept 'successful'."

David also insisted that the students continue to write the weekly logs at the beginning of each Thursday's activities despite complaints from the students that they were sick of doing it and from the staff that it then took so long to get going on Thursdays. David eased off on the logs near the end of the semester, but often had the students filling out other questionnaires or evaluation devices. Interestingly, this had a perhaps unintended but desirable effect: the students got used to being asked to reflect on the program, and got better at it. Comments we received on our research project's June questionnaire showed that students thought the questionnaire was on target, and were glad to be giving their opinions. There were still a number of good-natured complaints about how often they had been asked to say, for instance, "what do you like best about Arts Co-op?"; one response was, "Not again, man! I dig it!"

But the responses were much more articulate than the early logs had been; students seemed to have learned how to look critically at their own and the school's situation. The researcher noticed this even more strikingly during the second year in informal conversations with both old and new students - they seemed to have a much better sense of how to think about what the experience was like and to be much more articulate about both the political and educational/artistic issues of the program.

David did discover at the end of the first semester that there was a real need to establish procedures for hiring and evaluation of staff. While he had preferred the freedom and control which the lack of procedures permitted him, he was forced to realize as a result of the conflict with the staff and the reaction over Carole's discontinuance that formal procedures were necessary.

Not surprisingly, most of the demands which would have squelched the innovative and evolving intent of the program and its organizational structure came from IASC. Kelman pushed for standardization of curriculum, and demanded adherence to complicated and seemingly irrelevant IASC procedures. As suggested in the conceptual framework underlying this report, uniform treatment for idiosyncratic situations tends to dry up inventiveness. Kelman attempted to turn the non-uniform, idiosyncratic situations and tasks which confronted Arts Co-op (whose

mission was to nurture creativity and inventiveness) into uniform problems to which a common solution could be applied. This was one of the major areas of conflict between Kelman and Steinhoff, IASC and Arts Co-op.

In summary, Arts Co-op did not succumb to routinizing for comfort at the expense of the original innovative intent. The threat from the outside to this innovative intent was more or less warded off during this period with some compromises, and helped to solidify the staff in its renewed acceptance of the philosophy and vision of the planners. Our questionnaire on the climate of the school showed that on the continuum between "rigid" (0) and "flexible" (7), the median response of the staff was 6.0, very near the extreme end of the flexible side. It was also the most unequivocal response within the climate questionnaire. Finally, the continual reflexivity, and David's commitment to renewal following the end-of-the-year conflict, contributed to the development of Arts Co-op as an evolving and open-ended organization without many bureaucratic procedures or demands which nevertheless had a great deal of stability and regularity.

Other key themes. Once again, we will review the key themes of regionalization, integration, financing, accountability and autonomy, centralization versus local control, standardization versus specialization, and the power of planners.

1. Regionalization. The opening of the school brought students from the suburbs and the city together in one educational setting. And the art area groupings replaced the separation by town thus accomplishing the most straightforward regionalization goal for the school - getting students from different towns to interact. It was bittersweet: one student remarked:

> One of the nice things about Arts Co-op is that you make all these new friends. And one of the problems is that they always live so far away that you never get to see them again.

In the Administrative Council, by the end of the semester there was less emphasis on equity issues. Transportation was still not completely arranged and newspaper articles in Bailey and Adams during this period blamed David Steinhoff when in fact the Administrative Council had agreed in the pre-operational period that the individual towns would take care of it through their Boards. But otherwise regional cooperation among the districts was once again working fairly well.

The really critical regionalization issue concerned the governance struggle and who had the right to control Arts Co-op. The events of this period indicate that the local districts were losing control over decisions about their program. IASC, the regional agency, gained that control and assumed their right to it because, they contended, "Arts

Co-op is a program of IASC", and the IASC member towns and the Executive Director of IASC were legally and fiscally responsible for what happens. But the IASC member towns were not the same as the participating towns in Arts Co-op; and Kelman and the IASC Representative Council did not accord the non-IASC towns who were part of Arts Co-op much legitimacy in their right to make decisions about Arts Co-op. Thus Arts Co-op became controlled by IASC, not by its member towns, as the planning had intended.

And although Jacob Rute told Kelman and the Representative Council that Arts Co-op had been "a program of five towns originally", and Rob Harkness had warned Kelman that the grant was "in our names", the Administrative Council did not take control of the program back from IASC, even though there were several (admittedly difficult and risky) avenues they could have pursued (including forming an interdistrict committee, finding another conduit, even affiliating with NCA and its regional agency).

2. Local control versus centralization. As we have just said, the local districts who originally passed resolutions to participate in the planning and implementation of Arts Co-op were losing control over the program to a centralized regional agency, the very fear of so many of those who resisted regionalization in education.

Ironically, this situation was intensified by the Commissioner's position of non-interference in local affairs. In this case, the non-interference (which presumably was aimed at protecting local districts from state-level interference) strengthened control by the regional agency from which the local districts needed protection.

3. Integration. Arts Co-op opened with over 25 per cent of its students from minority backgrounds, but only had one Black staff member and no Hispanic faculty. There was interaction of students of different backgrounds around a common interest in the arts, although separation occurred sometimes when the whole group was together. There was a levels problem in some of the art areas which often had the effect of separating the minority students (less trained, as a group) from the White students (more previous training). There was a fairly high turnover rate among the minority students. There was a good deal of sharing about students' backgrounds and "roots", but there was not a great deal of direct discussion or follow-up with the students about inter-ethnic relations in Arts Co-op.

Waterton still did not have its integration plan set. All the possibilities being considered there seemed to have implications for tremendous community reaction (one plan would have rearranged nearly every school in the city, with a nearly 100 per cent reorganization in school populations). Whatever was decided would have some impact on Arts Co-op. Waterton did not seem terribly interested in using Arts Co-op as a positive example in their desegregation plan, as Jane and David had hoped in their effort to ensure the support of the Waterton

superintendent. However, that support seemed fairly well established by now; it was the superintendent who assured David that he would be able to retrieve the funds cut from the $35,000 request, and also did not seem upset at the program's summer decision to move from the southwest end of Waterton to the northern and mostly White border of Waterton (actually Bailey).

4. Financing. The outside funding method gave IASC (and indirectly the state) more control over Arts Co-op. The towns would probably not have put up with the struggle with IASC if the school had been running completely on tuition monies. But with most of the support coming from funds funneled to and through IASC, Kelman was able to set a pattern for maintaining control at the regional agency level even though tuition monies would be coming in with the second year of operation.

Tuition monies for the following year were secured from the towns without too much trouble, but there was doubt about what would happen in the following years. Tuition costs were quite high when computed straight (i.e. without the subsidies provided by outside funds): $1,700 per pupil. There was a need to expand enrollment and bring tuition costs down; David felt that it would be hard to justify the program with fewer than 100 students. But this expansion depended on including additional towns, and Kelman made this expansion difficult by insisting that this was his role and then failing to do anything about it.

It was still hard to imagine that the sending towns would eventually pick up the entire cost of the program; it would in effect nearly double the per-pupil cost for the students they sent. Wealthy towns would naturally ask why the extra funds couldn't be used to strengthen their own programs; poorer towns had already cut art programs - among many others - from their budgets.

5. Accountability and autonomy. During this period, Arts Co-op lost much of the autonomy which the planners had intended for it. Decisions by David and the Administrative Council were overridden, and IASC demanded compliance with standard procedures even when they were in conflict with those of Arts Co-op or with decisions that had been made during the planning period preceding Kelman's tenure. And steady, demanding memos came from IASC to Arts Co-op about the most minute aspects of operation.

Steinhoff was now accountable not only to his own Administrative Council, but to David Kelman (and with the assignment of Pat Browning's salary to his budget, to Kelman's deputy for special education), and to the IASC Representative Council. The strongest and clearest accountability, of course, was to IASC as such. As one Representative Council member said:

> This organization (IASC) has the responsibility for any deficit. The necessity for supervision is strong.

So what mattered was who had fiscal and legal responsibility for Arts Co-op - not who had planned it or what their plans were. The participating towns in Arts Co-op could not simply use IASC as a conduit: what if they overran their budget? Who would pay? The situation might have been different if there had been some agreement among the participating towns that they would bear fiscal responsibility for Arts Co-op; at least Kelman's position would have been less convincing. But as we have seen, such assumption of responsibility was not politically likely.

6. Standardization versus uniqueness. This was an important tension during this period, and took place on two fronts: between IASC/Kelman and Arts Co-op/Steinhoff, and between Steinhoff and his own staff.

In the struggle between the regional center and the specialized arts program, Steinhoff constantly presented himself as the specialist director whose program was unique and not comparable to ther other IASC programs, which were mostly for the handicapped. IASC perceived him as having an artistic temperament, and as not a competent administrator. But basically, the struggle was around control and trust. Kelman essentially tried to turn non-uniform tasks into uniform ones that could then be controlled, supervised, and accounted for. IASC demanded more and more adherence to their standardized procedures on supervision, lesson plans, evaluation, student selection, and so on, adding new ones every time they developed a policy or procedure within IASC. Arts Co-op participants fought back, arguing that this was a unique program demanding flexibility and specialized expertise and approaches. IASC won when they could make a case for other concerns within a particular demand, such as the safety aspect of the bus supervision demand, but often failed or were stalled when there was no justification other than sheer uniformity.

Said an Administrative Council member,

> There are facilitating procedures and there are constraining procedures. I'm a little concerned if one of your goals is consistency. This program is very different from others at IASC.

In the conflict about the role of the Administrative Council, Kelman used the uniformity/consistency argument again, prompting the Representative Council to respond negatively when he asked, "Should Arts Co-op be treated differently than all the other programs of IASC?"[35)]

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35) In fact, the other program directors wrote a letter to Kelman complaining that Arts Co-op should not be treated differently; Steinhoff was certain that this letter had been written at Kelman's instigation.

And the Representative Council, convinced of the need to carefully monitor the programs because Kelman had emphasized the legal and fiscal responsibility so strongly, and because they had gotten stuck with a deficit once, also took action to standardize, this time about governing boards other than themselves. After first trying to pass a resolution disenfranchising the Arts Co-op Administrative Council specifically, they replaced that singular condemnation with a standard policy about all project "advisory councils".

On the other front, David Steinhoff, who was the specialist in relation to IASC, acted as a generalist administrator in relation to his staff of specialists. He said in April, "I've tried to define my role as a mediator between structures and nuttiness", trying to balance out the administrative concerns of starting and sustaining a new organization with the need to allow room for creativity, experimentation, and evolution in a program such as this. For a while, David managed fairly well at that, but with the increasing pressure from the environment, David's dissatisfaction with the products and performances of the first semester, and the centrality and isolation of the leader's role, he became separated from his staff. They increasingly saw David as cutting more and more into their autonomy over their own areas, but as lacking in the expertise to do this properly. So for IASC, David was too much the artist specialist and not enough the generalist administrator, and for his staff, David was too much the generalist administrator and not enough the artist specialist.

Both IASC and Arts Co-op were trying to establish their organization, but IASC wanted a rational bureaucracy with control over uniformly-administered projects which would be clearly accountable to them. Arts Co-op was trying to start a specialized, innovative program closely responsive to developing needs, and did not want to standardize anything unnecessarily. Its philosophy assumed that success would follow from the creation of a flexible human system, with enough autonomy to keep itself flexible. So the organizations were incompatible with each other: any gain by one would be the other's loss, cutting into its basic thrust.

7. The power of planners. The planners clearly had little power in relation to what eventually emerged as the most important aspect of their plan - how the school was to be governed. The issue of organizational continuity was in play: IASC held that since the Representative Council had made no provision for any such separate governing board for Arts Co-op, it had no validity, despite the fact that the Representative Council did not sit on such matters at that time.

The planners, with unfounded trust and limited imagination, did not cover themselves on the legal and fiscal end of the governance arrangement, so it could easily be undone.

With the threat to the governance structure, everything else in the plan was potentially threatened, since there was then little

protection except for what was in writing in the grant proposals. The planners were now powerless as a group, with only their individual positions as sources of influence.

Key Decisions

What, in retrospect, seemed to be the critical decisions which the Arts Co-op P/I group made - and did not make - during this period of early implementation? We should re-emphasize that most of these decisions - the majority made by David with some staff participation, and a few made by the Administrative Council - were nested within decisions made by IASC and the Representative Council. Indeed, one of the remarkable features of the developing situation is that the decision situation was successfully defined this way by Kelman, with little effective resistance, either from Steinhoff, or from the Administrative Council, who did not seem strong or vigilant enough to protect their control.

We will not detail the "external" decisions (from micro ones like requiring lesson plans to middle-range ones like charging Browning's salary to the school, to macro-decisions like denying authority to structures like the Administrative Council. Their steady and pervasive effect was to consolidate IASC power.

On the internal side, we will only review a few decisions (and non-decisions) that seemed crucial, in light of their consequences.

The decision to redesign the interdisciplinary day moved it away from the highly conceptual/abstract style of the first efforts toward a model where staff offered basic skills in their own specialties to students from other disciplines. David's obstinacy was breached; it was perhaps the first major instance where the staff exerted collective influence on him successfully. Even so, it seemed that many staff and students would have preferred to stay in their own areas on Thursdays.

David's decisions about how rehiring would be done were made unilaterally and not shared openly with the staff. He originally told the staff that he would use a Visiting Committee whose main purpose would be political (to create a friendly evaluation of the program). He had emphasized as late as June that the staff's jobs would not depend on the Visiting Committee's reports, though he admitted at that time that the Committee's purpose was not purely political but evaluative as well. And although Steinhoff states in his comments that his firing of Carole was not based on reports from the Visiting Committee, but on comments of other visitors, the staff still felt betrayed and angered that Steinhoff's justification for the firing was based on what they perceived as a secretive and incomplete review by outsiders, managed dishonestly by David.

David's firing of Carole, also done unilaterally, not only used the Visiting Committee as evaluators, but emphasized the quality of work her students were producing, causing a considerable shift away from the goal of student self-growth. The firing was the catalyst which released the staff's pent-up frustration and began to redress the power balance.

David also decided to resist some of IASC's demands, notably those for lesson plans and close supervision, and to accept others, such as bus supervision. This differential response both signaled to Kelman that his power was not absolute, and to some extent marshaled the staff against IASC, although David had explained very little about the struggle to the staff up to this point.

The Administrative Council's decision opposing charging of Browning's salary, conveyed by Jacob Rute to the Representative Council, was chiefly significant for its diagnostic value: the Representative Council took no notice, confirming the fact that the Administrative Council had lost its power.

The Administrative Council's decision to hold a mediating session between the two Davids, initiated by Rob Harkness, initially left David pleased that the relationship between him and Kelman, and between Arts Co-op and IASC, would come into the open. And although the session went well in some respects (Kelman conceded that his procedures for handicapped children were not necessarily appropriate for the talented/gifted population), the gains seemed only incremental. In any event, all that ensued were informal assurances about the Administrative Council's power. And as we have seen, informal assurances were frail in this situation.

In fact, the tacit decision to settle for informal assurances simply laid the Administrative Council open for further IASC incursions into its autonomy and that of Arts Co-op.

There was an interesting decision that was never made: to unhook from IASC. From the beginning of the conflict between IASC and Arts Co-op nearly a year before, Jane and David had periodically mentioned the possibility of disengaging from IASC and seeking another conduit. But they recognized the political difficulties inherent in this action (because of the Commissioner's position on the regional agencies as the preferred funding route and organizational arrangement for regional projects), and considered it only a last resort. During the Early Implementation period, Jane and several participating administrators and involved artists considered this possibility and rejected it again for the moment. But with the disenfranchisement of the Administrative Council, Jane began to wonder why the participating superintendents, whose decisions were being ignored and trampled on by the regional agency, did not pull out and form an inter-district committee among themselves, which would have been quite possible though still difficult. She never posed a clear answer, but the superintendents, whose ownership of the vision varied, probably saw it as only one item of many on their busy agendas, and had few strong incentives to go it cooperatively with the others. After all, only a dozen or two students were involved from any one district, and why lose other IASC services and get in trouble with the Commissioner for that?

Unanticipated outcomes of earlier decisions. The planners showed unusual foresight in their ability to imagine what life would be like at Arts Co-op, and to develop goals which could not only be achieved without losing the basic intent of the vision but which also seemed effective. There were, however, several planning decisions which had unanticipated consequences. We have already discussed the most striking of these, the development of a governance structure without formal, legal backing. The various structural decisions - the veto of the artist assistant, no area chairpersons, pattern of staffing with faculty paid hourly as consultants rather than as regular salaried staff - contributed strongly to the centralized, segmented system. The mandated interdisciplinary day did not exactly have the intended positive effects of building community, although it did unify the staff in its opposition to the particular mode of implementation David had imposed on them.* And the mistakes made in underbudgeting were also a continuing problem.

But there were other, seemingly minor, decisions which actually had fairly substantial impact on the developing social system.

The planners had anticipated that the half-time nature of the school would make for strains on the students, although they had not realized the great extent to which this would be the case. They had also thought that the half-time situation would inhibit the development of community, but in fact, for the students, this was a fairly concentrated amount of time to spend together. But the planners had had no idea that there would be a real lack of continuity for staff who only came in once or twice each week, and that the biggest problem would be locating staff who then had to find other work in the area, where opportunities were fairly limited. This last was a continuing problem through the implementation period; it caused much staff turnover.

While the planners had conceived that the decision to seek undeveloped talent related to the integration goal, since the inner city students would probably have less training than the suburban students, they did not realize that this would put the untrained students at a disadvantage and in a position of being behind, although David had worried about this. The planners had not expected to lose students for this reason.

Even more important, the decision to open in February rather than September meant that the program came under scrutiny only a few months after it had opened, rather than a full 10 months later. The planners had worried that the midyear opening would be disruptive for the students and the schools who had to reschedule. They did not realize that it would most negatively affect the evaluation and survival of the school; the rhythm of the entire school year - especially in new schools - usually has a drop near the middle, before Christmas vacation, with people tired and needing a rest, so that they can return for the rest of the year after some contemplation and renewal. But for Arts Co-op, this downturn took place in May, and there was a sharp drop in staff morale in May and June. David was completely exhausted by the end of

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*Here David commented:

> Yes, but perhaps in the long run, because it was made a real component of the program, it will remain. Staff come and go. We'll see.

the semester from the high intensity of the pre-operational and start-up periods and the ugly fight with IASC. The fact that the school year was ending on a down note depressed David and the staff more. The conflict between David and the staff burst open at this time, and June ended with most of the staff furious at David; David much more upset by the staff conflict than he had ever been by IASC.

P/I group capabilities. We will comment here on the overall approach to planning (metaplanning), legitimacy and investment development, and reflexivity as exhibited by one or more of the groups involved in the implementation during this period.

1. Metaplanning. The staff and David had a general approach to what the semester would look like, but much of this was individually determined (due to the autonomy and segmentation of the art areas) and not shared with others on the staff. David had an idea that there would be a performance or two during the semester, but this was not made a main focus for activity. Interdisciplinary day suffered most from a lack of an overall plan for the semester, and the staff explicitly complained about this, replacing the original vague and week-to-week plans with four and six week cycles with a product or project-orientation. In general, interdisciplinary day lacked effective planning efforts, as a result of the confusion around the concept, disagreement around the mode of implementation, and lack of ownership among the staff.

2. Legitimacy development. The school gained an increasingly legitimate position within the arts community and the educational community during this period. David opened up the school to scrutiny immediately. Although some of the visitors and critics were dissatisfied with aspects of the program, the general feeling was that the school was accomplishing what it had set out to do. In some ways, it was easier to be considered legitimate simply because there was now a real school to show for all the talking. But there was a real tradeoff: gaining legitimacy through making the school permeable and visible put staff and students under more pressure to "look good" and undoubtedly contributed to the shift away from self-growth toward product orientation.

Within the school, the staff lacked formal legitimacy because of their status as hourly-paid consultants. They had the right to make decisions about their own art areas, but did not necessarily have the right to make their decisions and suggestions about the whole school stick, and they rarely if ever were able to override David's wishes.

The Administrative Council was deprived of its legitimacy during this period. Its decisions were overridden repeatedly by David Kelman and the IASC Representative Council.

So once again we note that something was lacking in the P/I group's capability: it could not build and clarify the right of key implementers to make decisions.

3. Investment development. David told Ron Kirk that he would like to consider how to expand the commitment of the staff, and Ron learned upon interviewing the staff that nearly everyone would be willing to take a more active role in the school. But David did not really make full use of his staff, partly because of lack of money and partly because he did not fully trust them, and thus limited the commitment that could have been developed.

Yet there was a tremendous level of commitment from the staff toward the kids, and up until the very end of the semester, a high degree of loyalty to David and the organization as it was starting up. People cared about the decisions that were made, but they did not always have sufficient control over them.

4. Decision-making. David continued to be the central decision-maker about the program design and the internal system. He pushed decisions which did not have the full agreement of the rest of the staff. The staff's decision-making improved in comparison to their style during the pre-operational period, when they forgot or were confused about decisions they had already made. In the implementation period, they grew much clearer about what they felt needed to be done in the school; they usually shared these views one-to-one with David, and he would often incorporate the staff's ideas in his proposals or decisions. But it was not until the April 7 meeting that the staff became active decision-makers themselves, in reaction against the interdisciplinary design decision which had been made unilaterally by their director and was not working out.

The Administrative Council took much clearer actions in support of Steinhoff and Arts Co-op than they had before the startup period, but they once again operated on the trust and good feelings which had all along characterized the interactions among the upper level administrators, Jane and David Steinhoff. This simply did not offer enough protection against the formal moves by Kelman and IASC.

5. Reflexivity. Although a good deal of data gathering went on, participants did not always anticipate the effects of their decisions. David, for example, did not anticipate what firing Carole would do to the system. There was also occasionally some restriction of attention to data. For example, there were few comments pointing out that the goals of self-growth and identification of undeveloped talent were being threatened by the increasing product emphasis. For another, David discouraged direct attention to ethnic relations among students early in the program, and also inhibited discussion about the issue among the staff. (June Thoreau, the secretary, tried to bring it up at the all-staff meeting, but David acted irritably, having told the researcher earlier that June was "hung up" on the issue.) Still, the review of goals at the April 25 all-staff meeting did help the staff clarify them, and consider future actions related to the goals.

Later Implementation

Recovery and Renewal

Over the summer, David reviewed the events of the last few months and took actions to relieve the tensions, resolve the conflicts, and plan for September. He met with staff members and heard their complaints and suggestions. He wrote a letter of apology to all the staff about his handling of the evaluation and rehiring, at the same time asking them to continue to work with him. J.R., Jan, Milton, Sam, Beth, and Jack agreed to return.

David himself might have considered leaving the program because of the struggle with IASC but felt with the eruption of the conflict with the staff that he could not leave immediately, since it would leave the program in a state of disarray and look as if he were running away from the situation. Instead, he thought hard about how to make things different next year.

For one thing, David wanted each area to be more centered around one person. This year, he felt, he had "too many different people to deal with to accomplish small things." In essence, this was one solution to the coordination and fragmentation problems caused by the lack of area chairpersons.

David also felt he could structure his own time better, so that perhaps he could do some teaching (as the director of NCA did). More important, David said he would "definitely set aside some time for counseling and certain hours for visiting" with staff and students. He was concerned about the students who had had strong relationships with Iris and Carole. He told the researcher that he hoped to get a good "group person" in the fall to "help develop some structures".

In relation to the sending schools, David was talking with the Warren and Waterton schools about setting up a program for Arts Co-op students to tutor younger students. This was the result of an initiative by Barbara Danton, the visual arts student who was the student representative on the Administrative Council. In addition, David wanted to get J.R. out into the schools more, along with Jan (and Iris, had she not resigned) because "I think they are well suited for that."

Thirty-three students would be returning. Auditions for the remaining places were held in June, which were run in a similar fashion to the first semester's except that the student council sat in. David felt the auditions were much stronger than last time. In all areas, they had to turn down some topnotch applicants because there were so few places available. In music they auditioned between 50 and 60 sudents for one spot. While David was glad at the turnout for the auditions and at the high level of talent which tried out, he was very frustrated at having to turn away some who were well suited to the program.

Better space was secured at Marian College in the very north of Waterton, actually officially in Bailey. This moved the program out of the integrated university neighborhood in the southwest part of the city to the all-White north end. But the classrooms were superior to those at the University of Waterton, and the dancers would be able to have a wooden auditorium stage for their practice. Still, David worried about the symbolic significance of the move away from the central city toward the White suburbs.

David's battles with IASC continued over the summer, except that Steinhoff was now in a worse position as a result of Kelman's knowledge of the staff conflict, and his possession of Boris' and Carole's letters. But David took a vacation during the summer, and managed to get some rest after a year that he admitted had not been very much fun for him. When school opened in September, people returned wary but open, and much more rested than they had been when school had opened the previous February.

The Second Year[36)]

Arts Co-op opened smoothly in the fall. New staff had been hired, and returning staff members felt better about the program following

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36)At this time, the formal relationship between the research project and Arts Co-op ended. But during the analysis and writing of the case study in the next year, the researcher continued to visit the program intermittently and speak with David, Jane, and several other key participants. One visit was made to the school during the fall of 1977. When the conflict between IASC and Steinhoff intensified and came to a head in January through June of 1978, the researcher became more involved again, attending the following events:

March 9 - Visit to the school, interview with J.R. Morello
March 13 - Meeting at Alice Pirsky's home, attended by some planning committee members, parents' organization leaders
March 17 - Arts Co-op show, "Street Games"
April 6 - Meeting of the parents' organization
June 16 - Arts Co-op picnic and end of semester event

In addition, regular phone calls to Jane and David filled in most of the story. The data base for this period is much more limited than for the previous years of our study; hence we will not try to do a comprehensive presentation or analysis of the data but instead will sketch the outlines of the story, based on the above contacts plus documents.

Finally, David adapted the questionnaire instruments which had been developed and administered by our research project the previous year as part of his evaluation.

David's efforts to repair relationships over the summer. A large percentage of the students returned and helped to break in the new students. Students missed Iris and Carole, but were making adjustments. There was still some staff turnover; Beth Baum, in music, left in December (because of conflict with Milton, David, and the students over her style of teaching and her own need to devote more time to her music). Jack Friendly, in dance, quit in February. There were several different voice teachers during the fall, until December, when Janet Davis took over the position for the rest of the semester.

David began getting advice from Brett Stern, a consultant from the Gifted and Talented program at a city university,[37] in August and she continued to visit during the fall. It was her feeling that there was not enough product, that the hiring process was a little haphazard, and that the interdisciplinary approach required students to have a certain level of proficiency in various art areas first. She also suggested to David that he get a parents' group going.

David listened to this advice, and later, after the conflict with IASC had worsened, followed the suggestion of a meeting with Cocteau, Sobel, Pampas, and Steinhoff and initiated the formation of a parents organization. Bill Barrett, the father of one of the drama students, became the main leader of the effort.

Interdisciplinary Day was changed from Thursdays to Wednesdays, and was transformed into a "performance day", thus resolving two issues of conflict from the earlier implementation period: the method for implementing the interdisciplinary approach; and the pressure for a more distinct performance and product orientation. The newsletter sent out on December 13 stated that

> Every Wednesday from 1:00 until 2:00 p.m. is a performance day at Arts Co-op. Some performances are developed by students and have included every art area. Additionally, staff members bring in work from their professional lives. We have had several visiting groups...

And J.R., who had been so angry at the interdisciplinary day the previous semester, commented to the researcher that the new format was working well, and that the staff was working together much more.

Jan remarked to the researcher:

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37) Actually, David had hoped to hire Brett as the formal evaluator of the program, but IASC turned down the request, on the basis that she lacked formal evaluation experience. Later, they hired an evaluator for Arts Co-op who had done some minimal work in evaluation, but had no experience or training with the arts, or gifted and talented students.

Remember how we used to complain all the time last year? It's not like that at all now.

Students began working on a show in December, based on original material collected and written up by the creative writing students from their visits and observations in the city of Waterton. They named it "Street Games", and wrote the title song, while Paul Carter (Carole's son) composed the opening jazz piece for the performance. There were a few non-original pieces, but the vast majority of the work was created by the students themselves. When the show's planning began, J.R. reported, David had put a lot of pressure on the staff and students to produce, but "we told him to relax, and he began to trust us, which was a big thing." At this point, however, the tension with IASC, after a respite between September and December of 1977, started up again, worse than ever before. We will review those tensions shortly, since they became the main concern not only of David, but of the staff, students, parents, planners, and stakeholders of Arts Co-op. Putting together the show,which would take place in March, was still a major focus, but the IASC tension added to some other tensions which developed in connection with the show.

Apparently, the subject matter of the show, (scenes from Waterton, not necessarily the bright side of life there), was difficult for a lot of the students; it brought out prejudices against the city by the suburban kids, and caused conflict between ethnic groups. In one case, a White creative writer had written a piece about two Black males and one White female, the subtle theme of which was White fear. She had rehearsed it with two Black male actors, but one day, when they weren't there, the drama director asked for volunteers to substitute, and two white boys volunteered. According to J.R.,* one of them did an extremely offensive stereotyped caricature of a Black male, not the way the writer had intended it at all. Several Black students then wanted to come up and play the parts the way they saw them, but David and the drama teachers were afraid of the situation getting worse, and cut it off. J.R. felt that "a golden opportunity had been lost" to work it out, as was typical of their past handling of ethnic tensions. He also felt that the Black students saw the White adults as running away from the problem, which reinforced their usual expectancy for Whites.*

But the students eventually worked it out. They took over large aspects of the production and direction. Students took directions well from one another, and one tenth grade student, Angelina Michelle, took over and directed the dress rehearsal in what Jane Sobel, who observed it, described as a very effective manner.

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*Steinhoff, in his comments on the case, said that he had followed this up by contact with key Black kids and parents. It was never fully resolved. The drama teacher put it on the level of an artistic problem (stereotyping)--precisely what Margaret Howard Stanley later suggested we do. The important problem was the lack of Black staff at this time. I got Jeff Benedict /a Black West Indian drama director/ involved immediately after this--a bit late!

The show came off well. A few people were turned off by the content, but there was a good turnout and most were impressed. David thought it had gone well too.

In other ways, the school was moving along successfully. We were not close to the implementation this year, but we do have a copy of the director's final report and evaluation, which reviews the progress toward each goal. Since he used many of our instruments in his evaluation, his report has some consistency with the issues we have documented so far. We refer the reader to Appendix A for Steinhoff's comments on goal achievement.

Generally, David grew more and more pleased and less and less critical as the implementation progressed. He felt that they had finally gotten a good core of committed, talented Black students and cut down on turnover. He thought the visual arts students were producing great work, which was on display at the Waterton library. He did a great amount of personal counseling with the students, helping them get medical or psychiatric care when he thought they needed it, finding them jobs, helping them with guidance about the future. In sum, the internal system of the program was in better and better shape as the year wore on, he felt.

But now let us return to the main events of the year, focusing around the conflict with IASC. A January, 1978 memo from David Steinhoff to members of the Administrative Council and other constituents summarized the points of the conflict:

- Kelman had cut the Arts Co-op secretary to 50 per cent time, with no advance warning. (David told the researcher that IASC's justification had been that Arts Co-op had lost four students the previous month, and they had to cut expenses to avoid a deficit. This was an inaccurate representation: the budget situation was fine (David saved thousands of dollars this year), and enrollment typically went up and down month to month.

- IASC took no action on three preliminary Title IV-c proposals which Arts Co-op had submitted to them for approval prior to submission to the State.

- IASC had hired a "program developer" to "help" the Arts Co-op director with planning. Said Steinhoff in his memo:

> We were told that this person could visit the program when she wished, that the Program Coordinator was to adjust his schedule to suit her times, and that she would have access to all files, personnel, etc. Our questions with regard to her credentials went unanswered. There had been no previous discussion of the need for such a person with the Program Coordinator or staff. The tone of the first "meeting" with this person was disturbing to me and as a result I felt that I could not continue to meet without an observer of my choosing or a tape recorder.

David listed several other points of conflict and concluded:

> Establishing a non-mandated program, a program for the arts of the scale of Arts Co-op is difficult, especially when there is constriction in educational spending and innovation. Recognizing this, a structure was painstakingly laid for two years by the Planning Committee of LEA representatives, lay citizens, artists, a student. There was careful research, wide consultation, and careful building of consensus. The program's greatest strength is in the commitment, goal structure and design created during this period and carefully carried over the delicate phase of transition from planning to implementation. In two years, the program design has brought five grants and so far, commitment by participating boards of education has been at the 100% level.
>
> Structures and networks so carefully built cannot without loss be abandoned. It is difficult to see how the current effort to wrest the program into the structure that has been developed for programs for the handicapped, ignore careful consultation with key members of the planning group (now on the Administrative Council), or practice the kinds of actions that are described in the previous pages can possibly build and take advantage of the existing strengths. It is regrettable, but it seems true that at times these key aspects of the program's foundation are seen as threats and opponents to IASC rather than, what they genuinely are, assets.

In the meantime, Warren, fed up with IASC and needing the services of a regional agency, joined UCES. This was an interesting precedent, indicating that it was possible for area towns to pull out from IASC and find alternatives to suit their needs within the same regional center structure, even using regional centers meant for other areas.

IASC did an evaluation of David Steinhoff in February. Given the antagonistic relationship and the hiring of the so-called program developer whom David and the staff were convinced was there to spy and case-build against Steinhoff, it was not surprising that their evaluation of him was negative. David, expecting this, had prepared a letter of resignation. When Kelman handed him the evaluation, Steinhoff handed Kelman his resignation.

The resignation letter was really addressed to the friends of the program. We include that letter in full (Appendix B) since it speaks to all the major concerns and issues which had faced the school in its first year of operation. The letter was widely distributed, and eventually printed in an article in the Waterton newspaper.

The evaluation turned out to be as bad as David had expected. Most of the check-marks were in the "needs improvement" and "unacceptable" categories. He read it quickly at first, tending to disregard it, since so much was inaccurate or distorted. But the Administrative Council hit the ceiling when they saw it, and Charles Cocteau actually frightened David when he made it clear that such an evaluation could have a serious negative effect on David's career and told him he would help him fight it. Rob Harkness checked out the accusations and statements in the IASC evaluation with staff and students, and found them to be completely untrue. The staff did its own evaluation of David, and, as they commented, one might have thought they and IASC were talking about two completely different people. Said the staff evaluation (which was the result of a group process):

> David is an extremely dedicated, efficient, and capable director. This staff wishes to express its admiration for his sensitivity toward us, our students, and our values and goals. We feel unanimously that he has made this a very happy and warm place to work.

The students, staff, and parents wanted David Steinhoff to remain as director. The tremendous show of support for him was a moving tribute to his intense and committed energy of the past year and a half. Everyone tried to get him to rescind his resignation, but David felt that unless things changed substantially in the relationship to IASC, he would not consider staying. He said he would stay at least through the March performance of "Street Games", but Geoff Pampas and others on the Administrative Council made it clear to him that he had an obligation to finish out the year.

At the meeting at Alice Pirsky's on March 13, the planners and the parent representatives discussed the history and current events of the conflict, checking out their information with one another and discovering discrepancies between Kelman's story and their own. David commented on IASC's view of Arts Co-op:

> IASC's conception of what this program is is very narrow - it's a source of income. But an arts program should never be a business.

And when Bill Barrett reported that Kelman had said that Arts Co-op had no written curriculum and there was no way he could sell a program without a curriculum, Jane said,

> When IASC was started, it was to respond to needs of sending towns. Now it's the opposite - to develop programs and sell them to the community.

But, said David,

> The program itself is very difficult to implement in that it is heterogeneous, anti-establishment (because of the staff we use). My role is an extreme stress role. Without a superstructure that is helpful and conscientious, it's an almost impossible thing to do.

And Carol Hunter also complained that the money that the Friends had collected had been frozen by Kelman; the contributors were beginning to wonder what had happened to their money, and if it was not going to be used, they were not going to continue contributing. But the planners who were there that night felt there was little action they could take to improve things. For one thing, none of the school people who had been involved in the planning came that night, and their participation was essential, since the other planners were essentially powerless (or could not see ways to mobilize power). Although the superintendents and the Administrative Council were considering various strong actions, and Rob Harkness and Jane had again discussed the formation of an inter-district committee, nothing came of the conversation. Margaret Howard Stanley sent David's resignation letter to her friend on the state board of education, who, upon reading it, wanted to send it directly to the governor. We do not know if this happened.

The parents organization grew very active. They met once in March and again in April. Bill Barrett and two other parents had spent three hours with Kelman discussing the issues, emerging extremely confused by the conflicting stories they were getting from Kelman as opposed to Steinhoff. Barrett wrote up the notes of that meeting, and gave them to Kelman for his affirmation, a strategy Jane Sobel had recommended, dating back to her days as Board president. Barrett had the most hope that action could help. Jane and David were no longer convinced that there was any way to win.

Of course, the worry was what would happen to the program if David left? Who would choose a new director? Who would determine the philosophy and goals? What would the governance be? At a meeting of the parents in April, Kelman assured them they would be able to determine the process for screening, and be involved in the selection of a new director, and that he was not interested in interfering with the philosophy of the program.

But it became clear that Kelman had already written up the notice of vacancy, job description, and advertised the position - all steps which the Early Planners had done as a group and with great care, since they felt it was an integral part of the process. Already the parents felt betrayed that Kelman had moved ahead despite his promises that they would be involved. The parents got copies of the previous screening procedure; Kelman eventually (perhaps as a result of this pressure) set up a similar process, getting Charles Cocteau to chair it and even trying to get Jane to sit on the committee. Jane, however,

did not want to lend it any credibility. Bill Barrett was on the screening group, as was Barbara Danton, and several other representatives of various interest groups.

Kelman told the parents meeting on April 6 that he wanted a new director by June to ease the transition and preserve the stability of the program. But Barbara Danton, one of a number of students there that night, confronted him on the question of stability:

> Considering the reasons for David's resignation, it seems to me that in changing directors midstream, we're losing so much. Sure we can get another director. But David has 1½ years experience and that is vital to the continued growth of the school.

Kelman retorted:

> May I say this? David chose to resign. After all the publicity and letters, I believe that if David Steinhoff decided to rescind that resignation, the Representative Council would not accept it, since he did not go through proper grievance channels in the first place.

Barbara responded:

> Then perhaps it is the responsibility of IASC and David Steinhoff to iron this out. We need his familiarity with the program. I think it's both your responsibilities. He has something we need and we deserve it.

Arts Co-op supporters then wrote a series of letters to the Representative Council about the matter. The parents organization wrote a letter. Jane wrote a long memo, straightening out some distortions of fact and history which Kelman had made (including his contention that the Arts Co-op and its director had failed to avail themselves of the opportunity to bring these problems to the Representative Council.) The memo concluded:

> All of this leads me to what is now the most pressing problem: What shape will the Arts Co-op program assume under a new director? The parents, staff, and students have made it clear that the current program is successful from their point of view. Administrators and staff of the participating school systems, while offering constructive suggestions for growth and improvement, have indicated

> their satisfaction with the program and with their students' progress. It seems evident that the strong preference of these individuals would be to prevail upon the current coordinator to stay, and to establish conditions in which he would be free to conduct the program they support, and which the Planning Committee envisioned.

In response, Jane received a one-page letter from Helen Barker, the president of the Representative Council. The letter was terse and curt, and did not respond to any of the particular points contained in Jane's memo.

The staff also organized and wrote a strong letter in support of their director. Milton and J.R. had assumed leadership in the fight, and both by now unequivocally supported David. J.R. reflected on the previous year and how he had not understood the extent of the pressure from IASC and the effect it had on David. This year, when the conflict intensified, David shared the concerns with J.R., who began to understand that David's anxiety, tension, and insensitivity level increased in direct proportion to stresses from IASC. Said J.R.:

> I've just come to understand how much he's protecting the program and staff from all this. So many of the staff are not fully aware of all the political ramifications.

Perhaps the most inspiring note was a letter in late April from the students to the Administrative Council, with a copy to the Representative Council. It was signed by all the students, and we include it here in full.

Chart 8

STUDENT LETTER TO ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

This letter is concerned with the recent resignation of Arts Co-op Director, Mr. David Steinhoff. As students of Arts Co-op, we would like to express our feelings on the subject of David's resignation. Even more importantly though, we would like to share with you our feelings toward David as a person.

We would all like to see David stay. As a director, we feel he has done more than his job. For David, Arts Co-op is not an eight to five job; it is a total commitment. David is always willing to give his all and encourages us to do the same. He knows us, how we feel, our art. He keeps it all in mind. He is a precious part of the wealth of respect, sensitivity and warmth that Arts Co-op has become. His vitality is ours.

David has made it a point to know each of us as artists, but more importantly, he goes out of his way to know us as individuals. He is sensitive to our needs, problems and emotions. He is a good listener and a close friend.

This emphasis on the human side of the program is what makes Arts Co-op so special. At Arts Co-op, no one is a number. Each of us has an important role to play, that is, contributing the best of what he or she has to offer. David has played his role to the fullest extent.

David has been with Arts Co-op since it began last year. One of David's strengths as a parent of Arts Co-op is his familiarity with the program. He knows what works and what doesn't. He has created an atmosphere conducive to creativity.

To lose this familiarity at a time when the future of Arts Co-op is uncertain would be a great loss for the program. We realize that it is a complicated situation behind David's resignation and yet we feel it is the responsibility of both David Steinhoff and IASC to try to work out these difficulties for the sake of the program.

If after an honest effort from both parties, David's decision remains unchanged, a new director must be found. Directing Arts Co-op is a hard job, that requires a special type of person. In describing David Steinhoff, we have outlined the qualities that make an excellent director, the qualities intrinsic to the man we care about.

cc: Administrative Council
IASC Representative Council

Further negotiations and contacts with IASC revealed no intention to change their stance toward Arts Co-op or David Steinhoff, whom they did not want back under any circumstances. By May, the staff, students and parents were beginning to adjust their thinking, realizing that David was really leaving. They got on with the screening of the director, and chose a candidate, Dr. Adele Hohning, who appeared to fit their qualifications. Some of the screeners were concerned that she was a little too polished but generally found her humane, qualified, and articulate. She was acceptable to Kelman, but was not, apparently, his first choice.

Kelman was changing the staffing pattern for Arts Co-op for next year. He had felt that paying the staff as consultants did not make sense, and was offering the staff $6,000 + full benefits, but the pay would be tied to responsibilities rather than to a particular time commitment. And Kelman told Steinhoff that he wanted to hire regular teachers and that he didn't think the program necessarily needed professional artists.

But David Steinhoff was leaving the program in excellent shape. Most of the goals were being accomplished, and the planners and stakeholders were convinced that the school was fulfilling their hopes for it. The students loved the school and were distraught and upset that the conflict could not be resolved and they couldn't keep David.

For under his direction, and with the staff and their fellow students, they had learned what the planners had hoped they would learn. One student's comment reveals this succinctly:

> I, Keith Bergson, a student here at Arts Co-op, have gained a lot and learned a lot about me and the way I play. I know where and what I need help on and here at Arts Co-op I can very well get the help I'll need. I didn't know how to read music too well or translate it to my guitar, but after coming here to Arts Co-op I can see I'm starting to get the hang of it. If I come another year I should be able to work it out pretty much by myself.

Beyond this, a number of students were going on to professional art schools.

The staff was loyal and committed; J.R. and Jan had emerged as the solid rocks of the program, and David felt extremely touched and impressed with their integrity and abilities. The budget was in excellent shape; David had saved between $14,000 and $18,000 on this year's budget, which had $7,000 slack in it because they were able to bring in a little extra money. So even with the 50 per cent cut in Title IV-c monies, the program would still have a budget of about $100,000, sufficient for their needs.

On June 30, two years after the planning committee meeting on that dramatic night when they transferred responsibility for their vision to the new director, David Steinhoff left Arts Co-op. Jane Sobel held a dinner for him in July, and nearly all the planning committee members, including Margaret Howard Stanley, Charles Cocteau, and Jacob Rute were there to wish him luck. These people had created a successful regional arts program that provided the kind of atmosphere and training that would nurture creativity and talent and accomplish integration around a common interest in the arts. But what would happen now?

Summing Up

Implementation Success

Congruence with goals. We have emphasized throughout this study that the design of the school and its implementation were quite congruent with the goals the planners and the implementers had set for themselves.

Problem-coping abilities. Within the internal system, the implementers were fairly good at working out the problems they confronted. There was a good deal of conflict the first semester, and problem-coping was less than effective. But David's summer reflection and the changes which he instituted the following semester contributed to smoother problem resolution in the second year. Most important, David began to trust some of the staff more fully, thereby making it possible to share some of the responsibility and the worries and cutting down on his isolation and centrality which had contributed to the conflict the previous year.

But on the external front, problem-coping was a distinct failure. Somehow David and his supporters never managed to deal with the IASC threat; they could not muster the resources to come on top in what had become a win-lose struggle.

Stakeholder satisfaction. As we have mentioned, parents and students were extremely pleased with the school. So were planning committee members, area superintendents and administrators, and even personnel in the sending schools. The State Department of Education came back around in its support, and Chuck Gould again became a friend of the program in the second year, as did the Title IV-c people. The only stakeholder who was dissatisfied turned out to be able to marshal superior firepower in the battle. David Kelman had a stake in the school too, though his stake seemed to be different: Arts Co-op should enhance the power of IASC, and, we conclude, his own sense of personal power. It seemed that Kelman could not tolerate the idea of a director who might question his authority.

Goal achievement. Arts Co-op was accomplishing most of the things it had set out to do. The evidence of student growth and accomplishment was fairly clear, even though it might be argued that the verdict would not be in for a few years on the consequences of talent development and nurturance. There was clear progress on the regionalization goal, and the hopes for integration.

But the longer-haul question, of course, is whether goal achievement will be likely to continue, given leadership succession, and the continued possibility of difficulties with IASC.

In sum, by the four criteria of good implementation we have posited, Arts Co-op had become, a year and a half after opening, a qualified success. At first blush, it was an excellent realization, a genuinely innovative new school. But its implementation is flawed. Its implementers have been unable to relate the school to critical parts of its environment in a way that will guarantee its continued survival in a form that its planners would consider adequate. At least, that issue is in doubt.

So we leave Arts Co-op at a critical moment in its history. Jane Sobel is nearly completely separated from the school, cutting off the main and most reliable link to the planning vision and the history of the development of the school. Jan Calder is leaving to take another job at NCA, and other staff members may or may not return. Eighty per cent of this year's students were seniors, so most of the student body will not be returning. There is some doubt if Winchester and Warren will participate next year. We do not know what the relationship will be between Kelman and the new director, but we can expect that Kelman will make very clear some basic procedures and ways of working that were points of contention between him and Steinhoff. If, in fact, the conflict was just a personality conflict rather than a more basic philosophical one (as some people, but not this author, believe) then we might expect that the school will continue to move in the same direction with little constraining of its flexible, individual approach. If not, we can expect some fairly drastic changes in curriculum and organization that could alter the basic intent of the school.

Explanations

Primary tasks. The planners and implementers for Arts Co-op established a good political base for the school, gaining support and endorsement. Had they been more vigilant, or more willing to take risks, had David used his groups better, they might have protected themselves better from the IASC interference and been able to retain Steinhoff. But the school is in a better financial position than anyone had expected it to be, though it is still dependent on outside funding. However, budget allocations to make up 50 per cent of the tuitions next year seem to be passing in most of the towns (in Waterton without comment). Still, its future is precarious and it is still a fragile enterprise from this point of view.

The planners were active knowledge-users, calling on outside consultants, referring to research, seeking opinions, suggestions, and options continually. They never closed themselves off to new information. They developed a clear and inspiring vision, and a social architectural design which had a good chance of achieving the vision. They chose solutions and approaches that made sense, but never went the standard operating route unless it was appropriate. Their "only" - and perhaps fatal - weakness involved structures for relating the school to its environment.

Actualization of the school was a bit rocky at first, but the implementers never lost sight of what they were trying to do. There was some goal succession, but on reflection, it was really a matter of accomplishing both the former goals (of student self-growth) and the new goals (performance, producing high quality art), not one to the exclusion of the other. Because the implementers were so straightforward and true to the planners' vision, there was little constraining of the implementers by the planners. But the weakness of the governance arrangements meant that much constraining could happen from the parent agency.

Institutionalization, except for the case of interdisciplinary day, tended not to involve routinization at the expense of flexibility because flexibility and attention to individual needs were too important a part of the philosophy to be ignored or slighted. Yet the program did become institutionalized and there was a great deal of stability within the program structure and organization, despite high staff turnover, the ½ time program, and changes in student population. As we have noted, it is not clear whether the program could resist future pressures for goal-diluting change from IASC or Kelman in particular.

P/I group capabilities. The planners and implementers for Arts Co-op were a smart, committed, and highly energetic group of people. They made several mistakes, however, mainly around the development of legitimacy of the Administrative Council and the governance structure in general, and in their political skills in fighting Kelman and IASC. While Jane was highly diplomatic, and David was highly emotional, both of them were honest and would not fight "dirty". They were powerless when Kelman distorted the truth, because they would not publicly call him a liar,[38] and thus the damaging, though inaccurate information was already being ingested by its intended audience. They were able to gain a lot of support and general endorsement, but when it came down to the wire, there was no one in a position of real power and influence willing to risk his or her neck to save the program and its director.

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38) We might note that calling someone who does not tell the truth a liar is not exactly "fighting dirty". Rather, not doing so is a failure to confront a social reality, and an abdication of one's own power.

On all the internal planning skills (metaplanning, investment development, reflexiveness, decision making) the planners and implementers ranked quite high. The Early Planning period in particular was a model in this respect. These skills were directly responsible for the clarity, innovativeness, and elegance of the plan and its successful implementation.

Concluding Comments

What have we learned from this case study?

For one thing, we have learned that no matter how wonderful or model a job the planners have done, no matter how well they've spelled out their goals and conceptualized their vision, no matter how carefully they have made their decisions and recorded them, planners have no inherent power. They must protect themselves with legal backing and the kind of planning/implementation linkages that cannot be easily undone. And there is a darker learning: perhaps the very qualities that make for intelligent, thoroughgoing, collaborative internal planning and implementation may unfit people for the rough-and-tumble of political struggle in the environment.

We have also learned that it is possible to start a regional education project. The lesson is not so much that there is a threat from the other towns, as had been the concern in the earliest period, but rather that the threat to project success comes from the centralization aspects of regionalization. There was a real loss of local control over Arts Co-op to an organization which was not strong in the beginning, had little credibility and a poor reputation in the area. Yet, because of support from the state level, a new director was able to come in, young in contrast to the area superintendents, and win out over the top level administrators in the districts and the most influential educational activists in the area. It was not entirely a matter of state support, of course: the agency director was able to mobilize the fiscal fears of local administrators to buttress his position and that of the agency. But the net effects were those of centralization.

We have learned that organizations do not necessarily have a memory, and that changes in administration can easily mean ignoring decisions that have been made by previous administrations. Other groups, individuals and organizations which based their actions on the previous rules and assumptions have no recourse against these changes.

The national move toward increased accountability in schools also contributed to the tensions which the school confronted. The planners and implementers constructed a program with basic educational approaches well outside of the current vogue for behavioral objectives and rational pre-planning; it depended, rather, on an underlying philosophy of flexibility and uniqueness. But the move toward accountability is accompanied by pressures to standardize, so that there is consistency

of content and form in order to evaluate adherence to a set of overarching standards. Arts Co-op was caught in this movement.

The fiscal learnings are less clear. Here we only have questions. How should schools be financed? Should the taxpayers in each town pay for specialized programs? To what extent should the state or federal government support them? Is it really more cost-effective to have regional rather than single district arrangements? What will be the effect on Arts Co-op when the property tax method is replaced? Will the small towns and the strapped city be able to pick up the full costs for the Arts Co-op program? We do not venture a prediction, except the sad one that dictates, "Last in, first out." New and unproved programs without strong constituencies are usually the first to fall when resources dwindle.*

Integration issues were also salient here. The planners wanted to decrease urban/suburban isolation. On the very small scale of Arts Co-op, this was beginning to happen. But whether a program like Arts Co-op can be protypically rewarding enough to generate larger-scale efforts to reduce inequality through the schools is dubious. In H.E.W.-embattled Waterton, the total population is 65 per cent White, while the public schools are 65 per cent minority. And the gulf between Winchester County middle class WASPS and Waterton ethnic workers remains a wide and deep one.

Finally, we have learned that it is possible to start an innovative school in the 1970s, despite restricted educational spending, a "back to basics" mentality, and the complexity of social problems for which there are no simple solutions - or perhaps no solutions. Though we do not know whether this innovation will be sustained, it is clearer to us now what it takes, not just to realize an innovative vision, but to keep it afloat in stormy seas.

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* Jane Sobel, upon reading the case study, commented:

> Perhaps one can also conclude that Kelman's oft-repeated assertion that he controlled the money and therefore decision-making was accurate--more accurate than either planners or implementers anticipated, given the overall anxieties about public education budget.

Participants' Reactions to the Case

The Feedback Process

In August, 1978, the first draft of this case study was sent to the two principal actors in the planning and implementation of Arts Co-op, Jane Sobel and David Steinhoff. They were asked to review the case for errors of fact and interpretation, make comments in the margins, and, if they were inclined, to write longer statements at the end.

We have included Jane's and David's comments on the case in this final version, occasionally by adding to the text, but more often in a footnote, which is marked with an * rather than a number, indicating that the note was added after the case was reviewed.

We should note that this case was not sent to all the key actors in the planning and implementation of Arts Co-op. We made a deliberate decision not to send the case to Kelman, and in fact, not to circulate it at all beyond David and Jane, for a number of reasons. First, we were concerned about Kelman's reactions to the case and to some actions reported in it which might have jeopardized the school and/or several of the participants who are still involved. Too, we had already had the experience of being threatened with litigation in several other case feedback situations, that was all too possible here, given what we had observed to be Kelman's line of attack when under pressure. Furthermore, Steinhoff was currently in a dispute with Kelman over the question of Steinhoff's final evaluation, and there was the possibility of legal action by Steinhoff, which we did not want to become entangled with. There is no question that Kelman's responses would have been illuminating, but we were not willing to take the risks which we felt were associated with showing him the case. And if the case were distributed to other participants beyond Jane and David, it seemed likely that Kelman would learn about it and demand a copy.

David returned his copy within a week, with comments on nearly every page. Jane, who was under numerous other pressures at the time, took a longer time and was more "cursory" in her review than she would have liked to have been. Stylistically, this was consistent with each of their approaches. David worried as much about the small details as about the big picture, just as he had when he was the school's director. David's reflectiveness, emphasized in the case study, is evident in his reactions--he responded to all levels of fact, analysis and question. He was quick to admit his mistakes, but did not hesitate to rebut the author's interpretation on occasion. Jane, on the other hand, concentrated on the more major issues, and her comments reflected a more global perspective on the events in the planning and implementation.

Participants' Views of the Case

Given the restriction of case feedback to Jane and David, with whom

the field worker had had close and cordial relationships, it is not surprising that their marginal comments were predominantly supportive of the line of interpretation taken in the case. And both had a generally favorable reaction over-all. David said that it was

> a privilege to have one's work studied with such care and sensitivity. I was impressed especially byyour ability to understand and convey the various complex strands of each situation, the enormous detail and the maintaining of a clear conceptual overview.

And Jane Sobel said that

> Not only does it seem to me a remarkably full and accurate account, but it was good to read the final section and feel that some of the outcomes (to date, at least) may demonstrate that even in a negative climate one may achieve positive goals.

But it is important to note two main areas where David disagreed with the author's narrative or interpretation:

The role of the Administrative Council. The author felt that inter-town competition and concern with issues of equity had characterized the early meetings of the Council, interfering with their need to become a cohesive body to fight against IASC's incursions into the legitimate autonomy of Arts Co-op.

Steinhoff felt that the Council's disallowing certain practices derived more from their wish to protect Arts Co-op from charges of being inconsistent, and their resistance to changing what they had already told their Boards of Education. IASC had historically been viewed as an irresponsible, inconsistent organization, and the Council members wanted to avoid having this label attached to Arts Co-op.

The author believes that Steinhoff is probably correct, but that this does not exclude the author's interpretation, which was, as Steinhoff admits, the way it seemed at the time. In this case, tha author believes that both things--protection of the program and competition among the towns --were operating.

The role of the Visiting Committee and the firing of Carole. Here, David made numerous comments and disagreed about details of the narrative. In some places, his comments are a defense of his actions, placed in opposition to the author's telling of the story. The author has simply include those comments, without trying to second-guess or rebut David's view. We should note that in other places, David has included long remarks in which he is highly critical and thoughtful about his own actions and what he might have done instead.

All in all, both David and Jane were thoughtful and serious readers who provided a great deal of additional data and enriched the case through their commentary.

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Appendix A

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS TOWARD ARTS CO-OP GOALS

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

OBJECTIVE 1

Recruit and identify talented students in the arts.

By "talent" is meant a high level of proficiency (such as performance on an instrument), a high level of ability (such as voice quality), inventiveness, commitment, and other qualities that contribute to performance in the arts.

Progress to Date

One hundred and eighty-one students from five school systems and nine high schools applied for the 27 openings in the program during the 1977-1978 screening period (candidates for the 1978-1979 program). More than two applicants were rated as talented enough to join the program for each available opening.

To assess the talent level of participants is difficult, but if we are to get an idea of the quality of student that the program draws, it is useful to compare Arts Co-op students to their non-participating peers. In each community and school system, Arts Co-op students have been recognized for outstanding work in their art areas:

> Adams (exhibits in visual arts, leads in all major productions), Winchester (leads in major productions, lead dancers in the two major regional dance companies), Conway (leads in major productions), Warren (leads in major productions, art exhibits), Waterton (leads in major productions, head of band, membership in elite vocal groups), Bailey (student directors of school plays, leads in all major plays, leader of school band).

With respect to the questionnaires, the following responses deal with dimensions relevant to this objective.

Student Questionnaire:

At the time you applied to Arts Co-op did you consider yourself, then, to be especially talented -- that is, especially good in your art? 20/39% - Yes; 20/39% - Not sure; 8/15% - No.*

At the time you applied to Arts Co-op, did other people (friends, teachers, parents) consider you to be especially talented, especially good in your art? 45/83% - Yes; 7/13% - No; 2/4% - Not sure.

Since coming to Arts Co-op, do you now consider yourself to be especially talented, especially good in your art? 34/63% - Yes; 13/24% - Not sure; 7/13% - No.

Problems and Concerns for Objective 1

Aside from the current participants who are graduating, only two students, so far, have elected to leave the program at the end of 1977-1978. Thus, few who apply actually get in, even if they have a high enough level of talent.

Some talented students are not trying out for the program. This is especially true of classical music students whose needs are met by their private teachers.

This past year, under a grant from the State Arts Commission, 30 workshops in writing and dance were conducted in local schools by Arts Co-op staff at no cost to the schools. This activity has helped to identify more talented inner-city students and to encourage them to apply.

OBJECTIVE 2

To identify and develop potential talent among high school students.

"Potential" refers to the talent of students who have had little opportunity to develop their ability, but show promise. Signs of potential may be inventiveness, commitment (as evidenced through involvement), imagination, or skill.

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* Note: survey results will be given as the number responding a certain way over the percentage that number represents of the total response. Thus 20/39%: 20 is the number of students who responded "Yes" and represents 39% of the students (54 total) who responded on the Student Questionnaire.

Progress to Date

Twenty-seven of the students currently in the program were considered "undeveloped" at their auditions. Teacher evaluations indicate that six have emerged as outstanding, surpassing many students who entered with more training. The "undeveloped" group has also produced the greatest number of program dropouts: six. The majority, however, remain with the program.

Problems and Concerns for Objective 2

Currently, the small size of the program allows only one level of class in most arts. Untrained students must participate with the highly advanced students nearly all the time. It is desirable that these students work with the more advanced some of the time, but also be able to take specialized instruction fashioned to their particular needs.

The staff must help the untrained student achieve the appropriate capabilities to foster talent development. These include confidence, perseverence, and good work habits. Activities supportive of the untrained student's development include: (a) providing individualized counseling, (b) encouraging strong social bonds within classes and groups, (c) giving the program visibility in their communities, (d) offering external tokens of identification with the program such as shirts with "Arts Co-op" written on them, ID cards, etc., (e) working closely with their parents.

OBJECTIVE 3

Identify and recruit professional artists in all fields who can offer a positive learning experience to young people.

The basic staffing pattern utilizes one major artist/teacher in each art area. This person teaches a minimum of 3 days per week. Each student works with a minimum of two artists in his/her discipline each week. Visiting experts are employed frequently to conduct special classes.

Currently, the staff consists of nine persons, seven of whom are professionals in their fields. Their quality as artists is evident from a review of their accomplishments.

Dance: one teacher received the largest grant in the state for choreography (1978) and has been the lead dancer for a major company. Writing: the teacher is widely published and has received one of the largest grants (1978) awarded to an individual artist by the National Endowment for the Arts. Music: one teacher is the First Percussionist of the Northtown

Symphony and Director of the Young Audiences program of Winchester County; another teacher is First Flutist of the Waterton Symphony. Drama: includes a widely performed playwright whose work has appeared with the University Repertoire Theatre and a person who has directed for the City Shakespeare Festival. Visual arts: these are the youngest staff members and do not have the status of the others, but each has exhibited widely in the region. Arts Co-op also maintains a pool of more than 50 consultants who have demonstrated a high level of accomplishment in their fields. Persons from this pool teach frequently.

Student response to the artists is evident from the following items on the Student Questionnaire:

36/66% said that the contact with professional artists was a major reason for applying to the program.

Which provided better teachers of highest ability? (students could check more than one answer in this series of questions so percentages often exceed 100) 44/81% - Arts Co-op
22/41% - Regular High School

In which do the teachers take the greatest personal interest in you?
49/91% - Arts Co-op 14/26% - Regular High School

In which are teachers more enthusiastic about their subject?
48/89% - Arts Co-op 5/9% - Regular High School

Adults Respect Students
38/70% - Arts Co-op 12/22% - Regular High School

Students Respect Adults
43/89% - Arts Co-op 7/13% - Regular High School

How would you rate the quality of teaching that you generally receive from this school?

21/39% - Outstanding	1/2% - Fair
23/43% - Very Good	1/2% - Rather Poor
7/13% - Good	0/ - Poor

What would you say about the way Arts Co-op teachers teach?
34/63% - Very differently from teachers in my regular high school.
9/19% - Quite differently from teachers in my regular high school.
3/6 % - A little differently.
1/2 % - Just the same way.

If the way they teach is different, how do you feel about that? (A couple of comments): "Even my English (regular high school) teacher cannot critique my work as well because she is not a professional writer." "My Arts Co-op teacher encourages our ideas and doesn't simply discount them if they are not the same as his." "Art is completely different than facts. Art teaches me to find answers in myself. Teachers teach from their experience in life. They are artists first -- then teachers." "Grades are not the main objective."

Can you say a little about how they teach differently from your regular high school? "More personally involved with subject matter." "They take you individually." "The H.S. teachers don't care what you do." "More relaxed, not adhering to tests or pressures from the principal, assistant principal, etc..." "Arts Co-op takes the students into consideration." "Teachers have more time to check out each student individually." "They make me more relaxed in class - I'm not afraid to try new things or participate."

Problems and Issues for Objective 3

The value of using artists as teachers is in their present commitment and involvement in their work. This can conflict with their commitment to teaching. The Program Coordinator must be aware of the balance and see that the program does not get short shrift while, at the same time, the artist is not encouraged to weaken his/her professional commitments. Maturity, responsiveness to students, and artistic competence are major criteria for staff.

Students have a voice in the staffing of the program by evaluating staff and assisting in their selection.

Quality draws quality. Many of the best teachers are drawn to the program by the presence of outstanding peers. At the same time, fine artists will be drawn away by special opportunities such as grants. Turnover of that kind, however, has not been a serious problem.

Like the gifted students they teach, many artists have not "fit well" into conventional educational environments. An open, flexible, and responsive climate must be retained. This requires special institutional arrangements. It is especially important not to impose duties that they feel are unessential to their own or to the students' development.

It is important to draw artist-teachers from Waterton and nearby communities, if possible, as their involvement in local cultural activities benefits the program with additional resources.

OBJECTIVE 4

Students will increase their knowledge and skills in the arts.

Student growth is assessed five times in the course of the year: at screening, within a month of when they first enter the program, and in three reports during the year. Assessment is conducted by teachers in each student's speciality (ies). During each progress report, the student and the staff members review the student's work (and what the course offers) and establish appropriate goals. This process is cooperative and concerns of the student and the staff person become part of the written statement.

Several categories of progress are common to the different arts. These include: technical skills, knowledge, creative ability, discipline. Technical skills refers to such things as editing (writing), ability to identify and reproduce musical tones, specific movements in dance, etc. Knowledge refers to information that the student learns (such as the styles of different composers in music), the biographies of important figures in the history of dance. Creative ability refers to the capacity of the student to develop original material. Discipline refers to the ability of the student to work persistently at solving problems and improving his/her skills.

Progress to Date

A review of the progress reports that are maintained in a file for each student indicate that most students showed significant progress; though equally important are indications for more development.

Examples from progress reports (these are paraphrased for brevity):

Technical Skills

Dance: J. has improved her turn-out immensely./ M. must continue to develop her strength in order to execute ballet steps better./ Improvement of memorization is important for jazz.

Writing: L. has shown improved ability to utilize metaphor, image, and simile.

Theatre: P. has shown growth in vocal projection. Needs further practice on physical characterization.

Knowledge

Music: T. (vocalist) has extended the range of composers that she is able to work with to include the classical repetoire.

Art: H. has been using the work of several contemporary artists as models for some of his own ideas.

Drama: P. has begun to explore major Black writers and has found material that will be useful to him in scenes.

Creative Ability

Dance: M. takes risks in classes, increasingly exploring her own ideas.
Dance (student comment): I feel as if I've recognized many hidden ways of moving for the benefit of how the dance feels and looks.

Music: J. has been developing new compositions at an increasing rate.

Discipline

Writing: Increasingly, she is researching poems and then working on them for several months.

Music: She works hard and shows dedication. She has, as a result, shown a great deal of development in ear training and is able to hear...

Dance: She has greatly improved her concentration, enabling her to understand this new form of movement rapidly.

Many students have exhibited dramatic growth, sometimes in totally new art forms. One student entered the program as a visual artist and now performs widely in dance. Another entered as an instrumentalist and has become an outstanding vocalist.

Student Questionnaire:

Their commitment to study and advancement is reflected by the fact that 40/73% had to give up something else important to them (classes, lessons, sports, work, etc.) in order to be a part of the program.

Responses include those which deal with improving skills and knowledge and those which deal with practices that support learning: self-evaluation, working independently, etc.

As a direct result of my experience at Arts Co-op, I have advanced in my art.

33/61% - A great deal	2/4% - Not much
16/30% - A fair amount	0/ % - Not at all

At Arts Co-op are you encouraged to be creative and productive?

48/89% - Yes	1/2% - Not sure
5/9 % - Not sure	

35/65% say they put forth greater effort at Arts Co-op than at their regular high school.

37/68% feel more challenged at Arts Co-op than at the regular high school where 13/24% feel more challenged.

Extent to which Arts Co-op has helped you become a better evaluator of your own work.

33/61% - A lot	2/4% - Very little
16/30% - Some	1/2% - None

Extent to which Arts Co-op has helped you become acquainted with your own thinking, working, learning styles.

32/59% - A lot	3/6% - Very little
15/28% - Some	2/4% - None

Student Survey:

Participation at Arts Co-op has made me more excited about learning in the arts.

34/63% - Strongly agree	0 - Disagree
13/24% - Agree	0 - Strongly disagree
3/6 % - Not sure	

Participation at Arts Co-op has increased my ability to do original work.

25/52% - Strongly agree	1/2% - Disagree
19/35% - Agree	0% - Strongly disagree
3/6 % - Not sure	

Arts Co-op has increased my ability to conduct my own independent work.

23/43% - Strongly agree	3/6% - Disagree
25/46% - Agree	0% - Strongly disagree
3/6 % - Not sure	

Parent Evaluation of Pupil:

In assessing how much students had learned in the program, parents answered the following questions.

As a result of his/her participation in Arts Co-op, please rate the student on the following items:

Knowledge of subject matter taught in the program.
25/57% - Much more (% of 44 responses) 0% - Less
13/30% - More 0% - Much less
4/9 % - About the same

Enjoyment in Learning.
17/39% - Much more 1/2% - Less
15/34% - More 0% - Much less
10/23% - About the same

Curiosity about learning new things.
17/39% - Much more 0% - Less
14/32% - More 0% - Much less
12/27% - About the same

Knowledge of his/her strength and weaknesses.
8/18% - Much more 0% - Less
26/59% - More 0% - Much less
7/16% - About the same

Parent Questionnaire:

Which of the following statements best expresses your child's attitude toward the degree of challenge of the work in Arts Co-op?

21/54% - Very challenging
19/43% - Challenging
2/5 % - Not at all challenging

Problems and Issues for Objective 4

Some students have emotional problems that impede their learning and require special help. An effort was made this year to identify therapists, psychologists, counselors in the region. Efforts to identify as well as to monitor the effectiveness of these professionals with Arts Co-op students, should be sustained.

A larger program would allow for more specialized classes, and thus teaching that is more directed to individual student needs. Certain students should be encouraged to find out-of-school resources such as specialized dance teachers or media centers. Off-campus activity like this can be incorporated into the student's program at Arts Co-op.

Students thought that the program did not hold them as responsible for work as their regular high schools.

OBJECTIVE 5

To create an arts community where individuals of diverse talents, backgrounds, and experience will share learning and experience.

This objective refers to the effort to create a sense of community within Arts Co-op. "Sense of community", a hard term to define, is all-important since, in discussing the program with students, it is frequently mentioned as a characteristic. Several dimensions of "community" were included in questions in the surveys: closeness with others, responsiveness to other students, sense of control over the environment, sense of enjoyment and of productivity, shared values.

Student Questionnaire:

The following questions ask students to compare Arts Co-op to their regular high schools according to a series of descriptive terms that characterize a good community. (Students could check more than one answer, so percentages often exceed 100.)

Enjoyable: Arts Co-op 76%; Regular high school 28%
Creative: Arts Co-op 83%; Regular high school 19%
Flexible: Arts Co-op 80%; Regular high school 22%

A place where I can be productive and creative:
Arts Co-op 87%; Regular high school 26%

A place where I can use and display my abilities:
Arts Co-op 87%; Regular high school 33%

Supportive: Arts Co-op 70%; Regular high school 15%

I feel like I am part of a special arts community when I am at Arts Co-op:
46/85% - Agree 2/4% - Disagree
5/9 % - Don't know

Another important dimension of community is perception by members that those in power or in roles of authority are responsive to their concerns.

The staff is always willing to listen to suggestions about how to change the program:
43/80% - Agree 0% - Disagree
7/3 % - Don't know

How much influence do you have about what goes on at Arts Co-op?

17/31% - A lot	11/20% - Very little
20/37% - Some	3/6 % - None

Students cited interaction with other students as an important resource for their work in the arts. This is an essential component of an effective community. It means that peer relationships are valued for their practical as well as their social benefits.

Have other students given you help and suggestions in your art area?

20/37% - Yes, very often	5/9% - Hardly ever
17/31% - Yes, often	2/4% - Never
9/17% - Sometimes	

Nearly half of all students said they had received help about equally from staff and students (26/48%).

Can you give one example of help from your peers? "Shirley telling me to concentrate on lyrics." / "They tell their ideas."/ "Describing to me what I was lacking and different points that were unknown to me."/ "Other dancers who have been dancing longer than I have given me more self-confidence and encouragement."/ "Getting me through the periods when I had doubts about my validity as a writer."/ "In color texture."/ "On my improvisation, a few students would give comments."/ "I ask more advanced students for help."/ "Information on music theory."/ "When my character is out of place, I am told in time to correct it."/ "Opinions on my work."

OBJECTIVE 6

To increase students' opportunities for knowing students different from themselves through participation in activities of common interest.

A major goal of the program is to lessen the racial and ethnic isolation that is increasing because of population shifts from the inner city. The program is designed to being together students representing the rich ethnic diversity of the region and utilize the cultural and ethnic differences as a source of strength. Review of the information about "Arts Co-op Population" (not included here) shows that a highly diverse group now participates.

Progress to date:

How have you felt about meeting students from other towns at Arts Co-op?

38/70% - I really like it
2/4 % - It's ok
2/4 % - It doesn't matter to me one way or the other
1/2 % - I would prefer to be working just with students from my own town.

I like meeting students here from different art backgrounds:

49/91% - Agree
0% - Disagree
2/4 % - Don't know

I like meeting students here from different ethnic backgrounds:

38/70% - Agree
4/8% - Disagree
7/13% - Don't know

Problems and Concerns for Objectives 5 and 6

Previous skills training tends to be strongest among the suburban and weakest among the inner-city students, probably because of the different financial resources available to each group to purchase private instruction. Inner city students frequently have closer contact with the adult culture of their communities. This resource as well as their extraordinary, but often undeveloped talent must be made available to the program. Staff must take great care to bring out the strengths of the different students so that each can experience success.

Efforts must be made to deal with not only "high" arts such as ballet and classical music, but also with artistic expression which is more clearly and immediately related to the experience of its creators: folk music, ethnic crafts, etc.

It is important that Black and Hispanic teachers play a larger role in the instructional and social activities of the program.

Community-building activities are important to establish a climate that enables students to feel comfortable with each other and to reach across barriers that are exacerbated by differences of geography, ethnic background and social class.

Because of the intensive concern of staff members with skill development, efforts must be maintained to be certain that community-building activities are conducted regularly in the classes.

Efforts to deal, through the arts, with significant cultural differences should be continued. During the past two years, productions such as Street Games, a musical/play developed by the students and based on experiences they had in downtown Waterton, brought about examination of their perception of the different life styles and values of the students in the program.

OBJECTIVE 7

To enlarge the understanding of and interest of students beyond a specific art skill or interest.

Many students participate in classes in more than one form and most showed appreciation of the opportunity to observe other arts or to work outside their own form. Street Games, the major production of the year, grew out of cooperation between artists in the visual arts, dance, writing, music, and drama. It evolved from joint experimentation in the different forms.

Progress to date:

Seventeen students participated regularly in classes and activities outside their focal art form.

Student Questionnaire:

(Wednesdays were the days that the entire school participated in or observed art activities outside their focal forms.)

Strongly like Wednesdays	12/22%
Like Wednesdays	19/35%
Neutral on Wednesdays	12/22%
Dislike Wednesdays	6/11%

Are there particular teachers outside your art area that you especially relate to, or who have been helpful to you?
17/31% - No one
15/28% - Yes, one teacher outside my art area
20/37% - Yes, two or three teachers outside my area

Could you say a little about how they have been helpful to you? "Gave me confidence."/ "Offering advice, ego boosting and helpful criticism."/ "They correct my work, they say what is wrong and right on it."/ "Increased my knowledge of art to a fuller extent that it was."/

"Helped me get in touch with myself."/ "David has been especially helpful in giving advice on what to do after high school."/ "They would show me some different way of approaching the same object."/ "One teacher lets me know that you can get along well with an adult on an informal basis."/ "They've been supportive."/ "Told me a little about their art in an interesting way."/ "I went to voice a few times and that helped me."/ "They're interesting and fun."

Problems and concerns:

In order to retain the interdisciplinary aspect, activities must be planned continuously or the program can atomize into separate areas. This area of the program needs considerably more development.

OBJECTIVE 8

To develop closer relationships between the school community, the arts community, and the community at large.

By its nature, a program like Arts Co-op draws much of its support from publics outside of the education profession. Persons in the region who are concerned with the arts and culture are essential supporters. Further, it was planned that this program should contribute to the culture of the Greater Waterton Region and not be concerned merely with training students. Thus, an effort has been made to make the wider community aware of the program, to go into the community and to bring community members to the program.

Progress to date:

Press releases were issued each month. These were carried often by newspapers in the Greater Waterton Region. Information about the program was carried frequently on page two or three of local papers. On several occasions, entire pages were devoted to news about the program.

The program conducted five performance evenings open to the public during the past nine months. These were well attended.

At the program's founding, a group called the Friends of Arts Co-op was established to raise funds and bring the attention of the community to Arts Co-op. Enlarged this year to "The Parents and Friends", the group set up a formal organization with monthly meetings and several subcommittees including: funding, IASC relations, by-laws, etc.

As a result of initiatives by the Parents and Friends, Arts Co-op students performed widely in community agencies, often at events arranged by members of the Parents and Friends.

Additionally, many students in the program performed and exhibited widely in the area on their own. Murals were created by Arts Co-op students at a local museum and at a newly renovated high school. There was an art exhibit, and frequent performances at the major area library. Additionally, 12 students tutored in elementary schools in five of the participating school districts.

Problems and concerns:

Relations with participating groups must be conducted with care. Some erosion of community support was caused by the treatment of persons that had aided in the program. For example, funds that had been raised by the Friends of Arts Co-op were frozen by the governing agency of Arts Co-op. There was no consultation with the community persons who had helped to raise the funds.

On the Administrative Council, the group that includes many of the program's founders and provides a major source of support in the participating school districts, members complained that they felt that the Council's role was ignored by the governing agency. The issue for them was the seriousness and consistency with which the Council was consulted and made part of important decisions.

Many parents and students have expressed a desire for the program to be more aggressive in seeking exposure through performances in the community. While this is desirable, it must not conflict with needed training that goes on outside the performance situation and is not aimed toward performance.

Appendix B

LETTER FROM DAVID STEINHOFF UPON HIS RESIGNATION

March 4, 1978

Dear Friends,

This letter is addressed to the many persons who have acted as friends of Arts Co-op during the last two years. Regretfully, I have decided to resign as Program Coordinator. As you are aware, the project was planned for two years by a committee of artists, citizens, and educators from the Greater Waterton Community. For the past 18 months, I have done my best to put the plan into operation. Now, I believe that the administrative structure and personnel imposed by IASC are not suitable for the climate and values I was hired to develop.

I am sad to leave those who have aided the project: members of the Administrative Council, representing the participating school districts; the Advisors, including lay citizens and artists from throughout the state; the "Friends" from the seven participating communities; the parents of our students; the staff of artist-teachers; persons representing many institutions, especially, the Arts Commission, the State Department of Education, and the participating high schools. The person who led the Planning Committee has remained central to the project since it began operation. I know we will work together in other settings. I feel close to our students and will continue to be concerned with their development.

Arts Co-op itself is young, barely a year old. We have learned from our efforts so far and more will be learned as the many initiatives have time to develop fully. What the project demonstrates already, however, is a well-known fact about educational innovation: the persons who saw the need for the project and planned it remain as its major source of strength. These persons, now represented primarily by the Administrative Council, but including others who worked with the Planning Committee, provided crucial liaison with the institutions, agencies and individuals upon which the project most depends; they have given impetus to local financial support; and they have offered guidance as to internal administrative and instructional activities. They extended the reach of Arts Co-op and of IASC to six school districts that do not belong to IASC.

For Arts Co-op to continue in a manner consistent with the design and spirit of the original plan, then the Administrative Council's role must again become central. On the following pages I have outlined what I think are major difficulties and strengths of the project. I hope these will be considered as plans for the future and implemented.

The formal relationship between IASC and Arts Co-op must be modified. The project has been placed under the same sub-unit as the projects for handicapped children. The rationale for this decision is that the legislative umbrella for all "exceptional" children is the same. Nonetheless, organizations similar to IASC (such as UCES and CREC place their programs for the artistically gifted under different sub-units for operational purposes.

Currently, about 3% of the Arts Co-op budget goes for direct salary to the IASC director of handicapped programs (Dir. of Sp. Ed.) and his secretary in addition to the approximately 10% that goes to IASC for "administration and supervision." The Arts Co-op Program Coordinator is required to spend several hours each week in meetings with the Coordinators of the programs for the handicapped.

---Skills, backgrounds and activities of Arts Co-op's staff and Coordinator are entirely different from those of the persons who work with the handicapped. Students, goals, content and methods are different. Because at IASC Behavior Modification is a major strategy in the programs for the handicapped, these differences are magnified. Behavior Modification involves the use of systems of concrete reward and punishment to bring about predictable "behaviors" in young people. What approach could be more inappropriate for the training of young artists?

---The poor match between programs for the handicapped and for the artistically gifted cannot be resolved by arguing that at some abstract level--as has been argued--the needs of all exceptional children are the same. This is a midunderstanding. Procedures and formats utilized by these other programs are being imposed on Arts Co-op. These include evaluation formats for students, staff and Coordinator. When this occurs, expectations as to styles and methods of operation are posited that are unsuitable for Arts Co-op.

The administrative personnel who work with the project must have the relevant background with the arts and the gifted, or they must play a more restrained role in acting upon the project.

---In the early stages, IASC administrators tried to impose an unsuitable type of student supervision ("visual supervision at all times"), given the population of Arts Co-op. Though finally resolved, the supervision issue is one of many that pointed to poor understanding of the project's goals and population. In another instance of this kind, student activity was characterized by an IASC administrator, as "milling around" when, in fact, the students were playing music, independently, and talking quietly together. This kind of self-motivated and self-guided pursuit of serious work is precisely what the project is meant to encourage.

---Increasingly, IASC administrators insist upon acting as the major liaison with participating school districts. Their backgrounds do not suit them to make the case for an arts project convincingly. The difference between Arts Co-op and the regular school, to a large extent, are the source of the project's value. But these very differences require special effort and understanding to interpret the project to regular school personnel. Often, issues and initiatives taken by IASC administrators to the school systems have brought no result. Similar issues and initiatives, sometimes even the very same ones, when presented by Arts Co-op staff or members of the Administrative Council, have brought positive results.

--IASC administrators must attempt to understand the project better. They have little first hand knowledge of the concerns and ideas of students, parents, or interested members of the community. As of January 30, 1978, they had not even read the 1976-1977 Evaluation. It had been their responsibility to review and forward this document to the project's major funding agency in July, 1977.

--IASC must utilize up-to-date information to prepare monthly budget summaries for the project. The figures, especially those on income, have been inaccurate for Arts Co-op's entire history and have not made use of available information. As an example, recent budget summaries (through 1/30/78) project $12,000 of income above the Approved Annual Budget estimation of expenses. At the same time, IASC administrators justify cuts in program operation by stating there is a projected deficit. Neither projection is accurate. The Program Coordinator initiated efforts in writing during the summer (8/16/78) to clear up additional budgetary discrepancies brought about by IASC. It has taken six months to resolve these problems.

--Follow-up on project problems and strengths must occur with more rapidity and depth. Issues that have been brought to the attention of IASC administrators with no effective action resulting include: assistance in obtaining jobs for inner-city youth so that they may afford to remain in the project to develop their talents, extending project outreach to students and staff in participating schools, developing summer programs, enlarging school district participation. In addition to inappropriate organizational linkage and administrative personnel, several more issues require consideration in revising the relationship between IASC and Arts Co-op. These include:

---Assuming that the IASC role is supportive and not simply one of control or of serving as a conduit for existing funding, Arts Co-op should be able to depend on the parent organization for active and constructive involvement in developing financial resources. Funding

proposals prepared by Arts Co-op have been poorly handled. Deadlines for turning in one important proposal were missed by many weeks. Signatures have been omitted. The major 1977-78 funding proposal went out with so many major errors (entire sections were mixed up and the budget omitted) that it was barely coherent. Requests by the project for information, including sources of funds and demographic data to support funding proposals, have brought little result. The persistent effort and cooperation between Arts Co-op and IASC, that would be necessary to enlarge school district participation has not been forthcoming, despite requests initiated by the Program Coordinator, and others.

---Administratively, IASC must provide a more stable environment. Some actions have been highly disruptive such as the reduction of the secretary's position from full to half-time without warning of this intention, nor discussion of alternatives. Requisitions, consultant applications (consultants make up most of the Arts Co-op staff) and other matters that rely on IASC approval are treated erratically. This administrative approach is difficult to explain for an agency that serves fewer than 300 students directly. Small size and relatively high per pupil expenditure should bring about a high level of responsiveness to needs of different programs.

While correction must be made in the problems cited above, there are strengths in the existing project that should be recognized and developed.

It is important, first, to review the goals of the Planning Committee when it sought funding from the Title IV-c Council. The project goals were to identify and nurture talent among artistically gifted adolescents, to develop a sense of community among persons of different backgrounds, and to bring young persons into contact with adults who had made a life commitment to the arts.

These significant goals are difficult to achieve. The planners, state experts on programming for the arts and the gifted, and local educators have assisted in developing strategies. After just one year of operation, Arts Co-op shows some promising results. A staff and a pool of consultant specialists have been identified. Most have excellent credentials as professional artists and demonstrate the ability to become personally involved with the development of their students. Talented students from 15 area high schools have been identified. Interest remains high from participating and non-participating school systems.

Participants represent a richly varied set of cultural differences. The project has purposely sought students with potential who may not have had the opportunity to develop deep commitment to their art as well as those who have demonstrated great proficiency and commitment.

The instructional program includes 11 courses taught by 13 artists. Individualized projects are common. Courses are changed frequently in response to changes in the student population through graduation or new admissions.

An evaluation plan has been implemented from the start with frequent monitoring of student attitudes, pre and post surveying of artistic development, identification and review of each participant's learning goals. Visiting artists and educators have reviewed the project and made recommendations. Evaluation results have been positive while pointing to some areas (such as interdisciplinary arts) that need strengthening.

Among the most serious concerns facing Arts Co-op is the need to establish long term financial stability. This can come about by increasing the number of students and/or adding new services that area schools need. With respect to the latter, Arts Co-op has begun piloting and planning several programs.

---An arts service program is being piloted in which students utilize their skills to tutor and create murals in their communities. The program can expand to include a wider group than artistically gifted adolescents. It is consistent with national studies that point to the need for responsible roles to help young people make the transition to adulthood.

---Artists are piloting workshops in area schools, utilizing a small grant from the State Arts Commission. The workshops can be the basis for more extensive cooperation in the future, allowing Arts Co-op to participate more fully in the arts in area schools.

---Other initiatives are being discussed including efforts to involve students more directly with the professional work of staff members, development of a service for placing gifted students with a wide variety of community mentors, consultant assistance to area educators in developing programs in the arts or for the gifted. Above all, the project is interested in and has the capacity to assist schools in creating programs that lessen urban and racial isolation.

Several important priorities must be considered if the project is to retain its vitality.

---A space that the project can control must be secured. Several sites have been identified in Waterton. State funds can be made available such as has already occurred in Northtown with the Northtown Center for the Arts.

---Parental involvement, already significant, must be facilitated so that parents become regular and active partners in the project. They are ready and have much to offer.

---Staff stability must be encouraged by offering part-time positions to those who have proven themselves. Some funds, however, should be kept aside to be able to offer students a wide variety of consultant specialists. Flexibility in staffing must be retained in order to keep the differences from the staffing structures that operate in the more traditional settins.

---Greater effort must go into developing the social aspects of the project. There must be more community-building and exploration of cultural differences that can be expressed through the arts. Special emphasis must be given to refruiting minority persons for both staff and student populations. Black and Hispanic adults must be encouraged to be involved with the project in order that it can benefit from the rich minority culture.

I believe that the planners' vision for Arts Co-op is still the appropriate one for this region. It can be implemented while enlarging the program to include new activities and a wider range of ages and needs among his students. Already, Arts Co-op represents a successful instance of cooperative planning within a region. Urban-suburban and racial isolation are increasing, nationally. Many school systems are reducing their arts programs. We all lose by both these trends. Arts Co-op offers an excellent programmatic approach to regional cooperation bridging normal boundaries and barriers. It offers an environment supportive of the arts. I hope that the participating school systems will continue developing and sustaining this project.

David Steinhoff